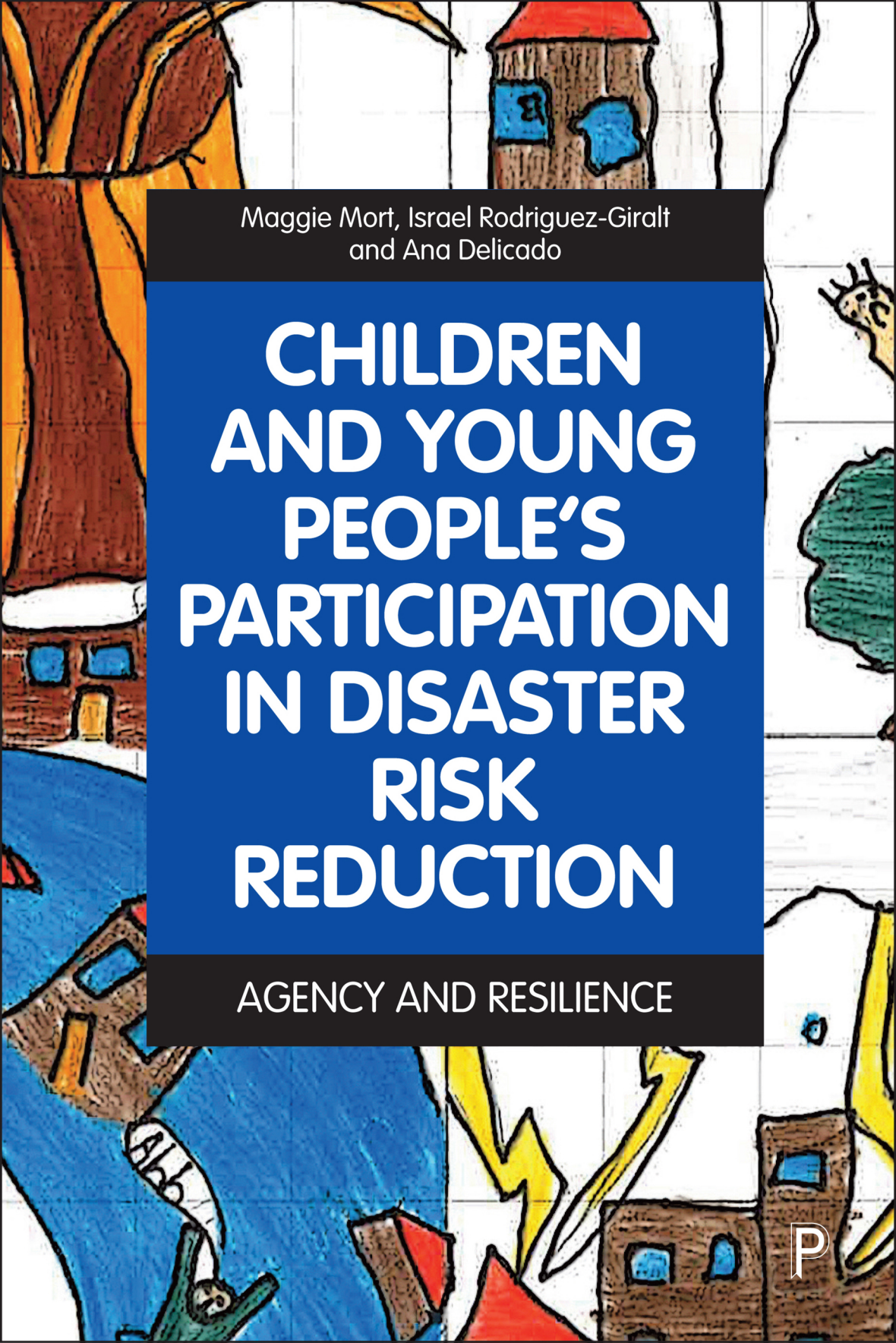

Maggie Mort, Israel Rodriguez-Giralt
and Ana Delicado

CHILDREN AND YOUNG PEOPLE'S PARTICIPATION IN DISASTER RISK REDUCTION

AGENCY AND RESILIENCE

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Agency and Resilience

Edited by
Maggie Mort, Israel Rodríguez-Giralt
and Ana Delicado

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Notes on contributors

Ana Nunes de Almeida, PhD, is a Sociologist and Research Professor at the Instituto de Ciências Sociais, University of Lisbon, Portugal. Her research interests are family, children and childhood; ethics in research with children; children and companion animals; and the social impacts of COVID-19. Her publications include: 'Dilemas éticos en la investigación con niños y niñas' (2019, in *Infancia y bienestar*); 'Children, Citizenship and Crisis: Towards a Participatory Agenda' (2018, in *Changing Societies: Legacies and Challenges. Citizenship in Crisis*, Imprensa de Ciências Sociais).

Vassilios Argyropoulos, PhD, is Associate Professor in the area of vision impairment at the Department of Special Education, University of Thessaly, Greece. He has acted as coordinator and research fellow in many national, EU Erasmus and Horizon projects in special education, and serves the International Council for Education of People with Visual Impairments (ICEVI) as the Balkan countries contact. His research areas include haptic apprehension, Braille literacy skills and issues of access and inclusion of individuals with visual impairments and multiple disabilities in learning environments. His publications include: 'Undergraduate student education programs regarding Braille literacy: A transnational comparative study (2019, *Higher Education Studies*).

Amanda Bingley is Lecturer in Health Research at Lancaster University, UK, with research interests in the relationship between mental health and place. She explores therapeutic landscapes as green space for health and wellbeing in older and young people; health and place in relation to end-of-life and dementia care; and the use of participatory arts, most recently with refugees, and with children involved in disaster, their recovery and resilience. She has many years' experience on research ethics committees. Her publications include: 'Art of recovery: Displacement, mental health, and wellbeing' (2018, *Arts*); and 'Migrating art: A research design to support refugees' recovery from trauma: A pilot study' (2017, *Design for Health*).

Miriam Arenas Conejo has a PhD in Sociology from the University of Barcelona, and is based at the Open University of Catalonia, Spain. She conducts feminist and intersectional research in activism and societal change led by marginalised groups, focusing on people with disabilities, children and young people. Her research analyses the role

of these social groups in disaster risk reduction and climate change mitigation to develop transformative and inclusive risk education and communication strategies. Her publications include: 'At the intersection of feminist and disability rights movements: From equality in difference to human diversity claims' (2013, *Disability and Intersecting Statuses*) and 'Disabled women and transnational feminisms: Shifting boundaries and frontiers' (2011, *Disability & Society*).

Flaminia Cordani is a legal and advocacy expert on child rights and the protection of children in an emergency. She is Regional Programme Representative for Save the Children, responsible for institutional relations and advocacy in the Central Italy Regions and for coordinating cross-thematic programmes. Her publications include: *CUIDAR: La cultura della resilienza ai disastri tra bambini e adolescenti* (2018, Save the Children); *Dalla parte dei bambini: Linee di indirizzo per i piani di emergenza comunali* (2017); *Ancora a rischio: Proteggere i bambini dalle emergenze* (2017); *Terremoto in Italia centrale: Il nostro intervento* (2017); and *Gli spazi a misura di bambino: L'esperienza con minori stranieri in arrivo via mare e in transito* (2016).

Ana Delicado is Research Fellow at the Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal. She has a PhD in Sociology, specialising in social studies of science and technology; she conducts research on science museums, public understanding of science, environmental risks, scientific associations, climate change, social acceptance of technologies and disaster risk. She coordinates the European Sociological Association's Sociology of Science and Technology Network (SSTNET) Executive Board, and is a member of the European Association for the Study of Science and Technology (EASST). Her latest publications include the edited volumes: *Communicating Science and Technology in Society: Issues of Public Accountability and Engagement* (2020, Springer) and *Changing Societies: Legacies and Challenges. The Diverse Worlds of Sustainability* (2018, Imprensa de Ciências Sociais).

Aya Goto is a Professor of Health Information and Epidemiology at Fukushima Medical University Centre for Integrated Science and Humanities, Japan. Her main research interests are health literacy and parenting support. Since the Fukushima nuclear accident, she has been working closely with public health nurses, helping them respond appropriately to concerns among parents of small children about elevated background radiation. Her publications include:

'Communicating health information with the public' (2020, *Global Journal of Health Science*); 'Thinking and acting with school children in Fukushima' (2020, *Japan Medical Association (JMA) Journal*); and 'Factors associated with intention of future pregnancy among women affected by the Fukushima Nuclear Accident' (2019, *Journal of Epidemiology*).

Anna Benedetta Grisi is a child protection and safeguarding programmes expert for Save the Children Italy. Her professional experience mainly concerns the areas of humanitarian aid, emergency response and child protection both in high- and low-income countries. Her publications include: *Terremoto in Italia centrale. L'intervento di Save the Children* (2016, Save the Children Italy); *Ancora a rischio: Proteggere i bambini dalle emergenze* (2017); *CUIDAR: La cultura della resilienza ai disastri tra bambini e adolescenti* (2018); and *Ad ali spiegate: Prospettive di intervento con nuclei mamma-bambino/a vittime di violenza domestica e assistita* (2020).

Charikleia Kanari, PhD, is Adjunct Lecturer in Special Education and Museum Education at the University of Thessaly, Greece, and other universities. She has participated in many national and European projects. She has numerous publications in international peer-reviewed journals, conference proceedings and books. Her research interests include issues of education, access and inclusion of children with and without disabilities in formal education, non-formal and informal learning environments, arts and culture. Her publications include: 'Education of children with disabilities in nonformal learning environments: A cross-disciplinary approach of STEAM Education in a technological museum in Greece' (2020, *European Journal of Alternative Education Studies*).

Stefanie Keir, PhD, is a Policy and Practice Impact Adviser for Save the Children in Scotland, UK, where she has worked in different roles with children, young people and families to reduce child poverty and its impacts. She has previously worked with asylum-seeking and refugee children and adults. Her interests are social equity and justice, sustainability, migration, participation and the early years. Her publications include: 'Musical Gypsies and Anti-Classical Aesthetics: The Romantic Reception of Goethe's Mignon Character in Brentano's Die mehreren Wehmuller und ungarische Nationalgeschichter' (2004, in S. Donovan and R. Elliott, *Music and Literature in German Romanticism*, Camden House).

Alison Lloyd Williams, PhD, is Senior Research Associate at Lancaster University, UK. She draws on creative, theatre-based methods to research citizenship and participation, particularly with children, young people and marginalised groups. She works with schools in Fukushima exploring and promoting children's involvement in community development in the wake of the 2011 disaster. Her publications include: 'Participatory approaches to disaster risk research and education' (2019, *Japanese Journal of Risk Analysis*); '"That's where I first saw the water…" Mobilizing children's voices in UK flood risk management' (2017, *Transfers*); 'Exploring Theatre as Pedagogy for "Developing Citizens" in an English Primary School (2015, in *Applied Theatre Development*, Bloomsbury, Methuen).

Daniel López-Gómez, MD, PhD, is a Social Psychologist and Science and Technology Studies scholar working on infrastructure and practices of care in later life. As an Associate Professor in the Department of Psychology and Education, he is Senior Researcher at CareNet, Internet Interdisciplinary Institute, Open University of Catalonia. His publications include: 'Havens and Heavens of Ageing-in-Community: Home, Care and Age in Senior Co-Housing' (2020, in B. Pasveer, O. Synnes and I. Moser, *Ways of Home Making in Care for Later Life*, Springer Singapore) and 'What if ANT wouldn't pursue agnosticism but care?' (2019, in A. Blok, I. Farías and C. Roberts, *The Routledge Companion to Actor-Network Theory*, Routledge).

Maggie Mort is Professor in the Department of Sociology at Lancaster University, UK. She coordinated CUIDAR: Cultures of Disaster Resilience Among Children and Young People (EU Horizon 2020). She has published widely on the social effects of disaster and technological change in health and social care, including: *Living Data: Making Sense of Health Biosensing* (2019, with Celia Roberts and Adrian Mackenzie, Bristol University Press); 'Displacement: Critical insights from flood affected children' (2018, *Health and Place*); 'From victims to actors: The role of children and young people in flood recovery and resilience' (2018, *Environment and Planning C*); and 'Technologies of recovery: Plans, practices and entangled politics in disaster' (2014, *The Sociological Review*).

Magda Nikolaraizi, PhD, is Associate Professor in special education–education of the Deaf at the Department of Special Education, University of Thessaly, Greece, where she directs the Accessibility Centre for students with disabilities. Her research interests lie within

the area of inclusion and access of students with disabilities, and especially students who are deaf or hard of hearing to formal and informal learning. She has numerous publications in international peer-reviewed journals and books, including: 'The Role of Self-Advocacy in Academic Access for Students Who Are Deaf or Hard of Hearing in Higher Education (2019, in S. Halder and V. Argyropoulos, *Inclusion, Equity and Access for Individuals with Disabilities*, Palgrave Macmillan).

Maria Papazafiri, PhD, is a member of the scientific staff at the Accessibility Centre for students with disabilities, University of Thessaly, Greece. She is also an Adjunct Lecturer in the field of special education. She has participated in European projects and has publications in proceedings and peer-reviewed journals. Her research interests concern the instruction and assessment of individuals with deafblindness and also individuals with vision impairments and multiple disabilities. Her publications include: 'Assistive Technology and Special Education Teachers: The Case of Students with Multiple Disabilities and Vision Impairment' (2018, in L. Gómez Chova, A. López Martínez and I. Candel Torres, *Proceedings of EDULEARN18 Conference*, Mallorca, Spain).

Ana Sofia Ribeiro, PhD, is Research Fellow at the Instituto de Ciências Sociais, University of Lisbon, Portugal. She is interested in the sociology of education, children and young people, human development, inequalities and disasters. Her current project investigates rural youth recovery from wildfire disasters and is funded by the National Foundation for Science and Technology Scientific Stimulus Programme 2017. Her publications include: 'Drawing on fire: Children's knowledge and needs after a wildfire disaster in Portugal' (2019, *Children's Geographies*) and 'Children, Citizenship and Crisis: Towards a Participatory Agenda (2018, in *Changing Societies: Legacies and Challenges. Citizenship in Crisis*, Imprensa de Ciências Sociais).

Israel Rodríguez-Giralt, PhD, is Senior Researcher at the Internet Interdisciplinary Institute (IN3) at the Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, Spain, where he coordinates the CareNet Research Group. His work revolves around the forms of social experimentation and political mobilisation of citizens in crisis, disasters, and public technoscientific controversies. Working with older people, disabled people and children and young people, his current research examines alternative conceptualisations of disasters from an ethics of care. He has co-edited the books *Reassembling Activism, Activating Assemblages*

(2019, with I. Marrero and D. Milstein, Routledge), and *Disasters and Politics: Materials, Experiments, Preparedness* (2014, with M. Tironi and M. Guggenheim, Wiley-Blackwell).

Jussara Rowland is a Researcher at the Instituto de Ciências Sociais, University of Lisbon, Portugal, and explores children and young people's roles, science communication and participatory methodologies. She worked at the Permanent Youth Observatory and in two Horizon 2020 projects: CUIDAR and CONCISE. Her publications include: 'Children, Citizenship and Crisis: Towards a Participatory Agenda' (2018, in *Changing Societies: Legacies and Challenges*, Imprensa de Ciências Sociais); *Geração milénio? Um retrato social e político* (2017, Imprensa de Ciências Sociais); and 'Children in disaster risk reduction in Portugal: Policies, education, and (non) participation' (2017, *International Journal of Disaster Risk Science*).

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Preface

Cultures of Disaster Resilience Among Children and Young People (CUIDAR) was, and to some extent remains, an alliance of young people, researchers, teachers, firefighters, civil protection workers, schools, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), mayors and local and regional government officials. Funded by the European Commission, we consulted and co-researched with a total of 552 children and young people from Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain and the UK, with the ultimate aim of creating a child-centred disaster risk management framework for Europe and beyond.[1]

Our first act as a team of would-be collaborators was to devise a project name or acronym: CUIDAR means to *take care* in Spanish, Catalan and Portuguese, and is picked out in our name like this: **CU**ltures of **D**is**A**ster **R**esilience among children and young people (with a bit of licence for the out-of-place letter 'i'). When thinking up the acronym, we came to realise how words can matter. Etymologically, *cuidar* comes, perhaps surprisingly, from the Latin *cogitare,* which means reflection, deliberation, act of thinking, pay attention to. The acronym perfectly encapsulates our aim to *care about* what usually goes unnoticed in disaster management, to pay attention to those groups frequently neglected or marginalised in these situations, and to articulate, connect and signify other lived worlds that matter.

So working with the *cuidar*/take care concept, the next activity was to ask groups of children and young people if they would like to be involved, starting in Portugal with the design of a logo to express 'disaster'. Children aged 10–12 in Loures, Sintra and Cascais made many lively drawings in workshops where they also talked about emergencies, risk and disaster, and from that very early stage, we chose (with great difficulty) four, out of the many images given to us, to have designed into our CUIDAR logo, which you can see on the front and back covers of this book (see Figures 0.1a and 0.1b).

As a collaboration between the major charity Save the Children, academic institutions, schools, youth centres and others, CUIDAR has been a large and diverse project. Researchers and practitioners among us include human geographers, sociologists, social psychologists, special educators, emergency planners, firefighters, architects and filmmakers. We came together with the aim of making an intervention in what we observed to be a strong cultural setting (disaster risk management) where only adults were held to have expertise, a setting where formal, explicit technical knowledge seemed to take precedence over everyday

Figure 0.1a: Drawings produced by Ricardo (11 years old, Sintra, Portugal)

Figure 0.1b: Drawings produced by Diana (10 years old, Loures, Portugal) in an early workshop

experience. We hope that this book will be read in that spirit – as an intervention to develop different ways of thinking about the value of local, lived experience, about the civic roles of children and how these can be recognised within the complex field of disaster risk management. We only hope we can do justice here to the 552 children and young people and the many adult practitioners and decision-makers who took part.

Note

[1] Interest in our approach then spread to Fukushima, Japan, where some of our methods have been used in public health and education (see Chapter 5).

Introducing CUIDAR: A child-centred approach to disasters

Maggie Mort, Israel Rodríguez-Giralt and Ana Delicado

> 'I think they should give more opportunity to the young people's opinions, because although they think we are immature and that we are going to say outlandish things, it is a lie, there are many young people that are very mature.' (Young participant following an event with policy-makers, Portugal)

The role, visibility and activism of young people in the context of disaster has grown exponentially since 2018. As we were drafting this book, the young activist Greta Thunberg was receiving a human rights award from Amnesty International as an 'Ambassador of Conscience', joining previous recipients Malala Yousafzai and Nelson Mandela (BBC, 2019). On Twitter, using the hashtag #FridaysForFuture denoting the global school strike movement, Greta declared: 'This is not my award, this is everyone's award and would not have been possible without everyone striking every Friday because of the climate crisis.'

Fridays For Future, School Strike for Climate, Juventud por el Clima (there are different names) was in turn inspired by the youth-led strikes in Parkland School in Florida, a protest against the US gun laws that young people said enabled a massacre on their campus on 14 February 2018. The following month, a national school walkout took place together with the US-wide March for Our Lives rally against gun violence. That summer, Greta Thunberg began to sit in protest outside the Swedish Parliament, and we have since seen a transformation, led by young people, in our understanding of what counts as a disaster and who gets to say what must be done. Climate change has been recast as a 'climate crisis', and young people, through coordinated worldwide, popular and peaceful protests, have both inspired adults to protest and act and motivated politicians who now queue up to acknowledge the crisis as a disaster and, in some cases, to promise radical changes in policy and practice. The inspiring, transformative and mobilising capacity of this young people's movement can be seen in some of its

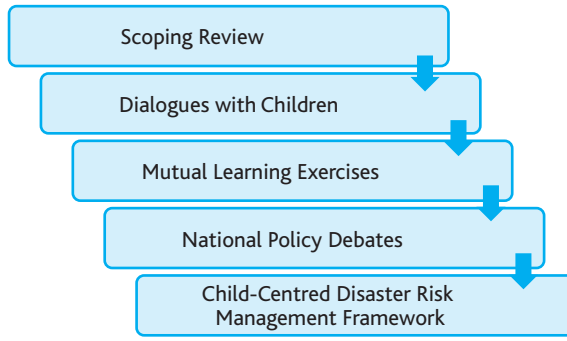
slogans: 'There's no planet B', 'My future matters', 'Why aren't you panicking?', 'If you don't act like adults then we will', 'Our house is on fire', 'We haven't known a world without climate change', 'System change not climate change'.

The CUIDAR project began as a response to a timely call by the European Commission's Secure Societies theme within its Horizon 2020 programme for culturally sensitive disaster management plans. So we argued that children and young people should be considered as a cultural group whose perspectives and insights were overlooked in the adultist cultural worlds of emergency planning and disaster risk management (DRM). This was a risky step, perhaps – clearly there are many 'cultures' and 'subcultures' among 'children and young people', just as there are in societies at large. Although perhaps a risky concept to use, culture allowed us to shift the strong 'naturalist' narrative that exists around disasters and that is used in the field of DRM. Employing the phrase 'cultures of disaster resilience…' allowed us to speak of disasters as comprising troubling entanglements of nature and culture, and of a variety of logics and ways of understanding and making sense of disasters. And 'cultures of disaster resilience' also allowed us to denaturalise another important concept, 'resilience', and view this in its social context (about which more below).

Following a staged approach, CUIDAR researchers began with a Scoping Review of policies, practices and programmes relating to children's involvement in disaster management in each partner country and of the published literature. The next step, Dialogues with Children, was to explore children's perceptions and experiences of disaster and then to use what we learned to build a series of practical encounters, or Mutual Learning Exercises (MLEs), between them and decision-makers. To gain the most from our interactions with children, young people and decision-makers, the stages of the project were designed to follow a path in which each encounter would build on the next, and scale up through local, regional and National Policy Debates, through international networks, gathering pace as we went towards production of a Child-Centred Disaster Risk Management Framework.

This rather ordered and linear progression (expressed in Figure 0.2), while helpful organisationally, did present some challenges. Lived realities have a habit of intervening, and during the funded lifetime of the CUIDAR project 2015–18, Europe saw major disasters. The 2016 earthquakes in Central Italy resulted in heavy loss of life in and around Amatrice, the traumatic and lethal Grenfell Tower fire in West London, the devastating forest fires in Portugal in 2017 and the shocking wildfires in Mati near Athens in 2018 would be to

Figure 0.2: CUIDAR project stages



name only a few. Two of the cities we worked in for CUIDAR, Manchester and Barcelona, were hit by terrorist attacks in 2017. Any book about participation in disaster management runs the risk of being overtaken by, or seeming to ignore, events, and as we were finalising our manuscript the world was gripped by a global disease pandemic in the form of COVID-19. While a pandemic disaster has long been foreseen by emergency planners, societies seem ill prepared, uncertain and struggling for the necessary capacity to respond. The challenge, once again, is how to articulate a response capable of dealing with the emergency, which is at the same time inclusive and respectful of diversity. Again, the challenge is to learn from previous disasters and not leave anyone behind, for example, being able to acknowledge and incorporate the rights, voices and crucial contributions of children and young people in the management of this pandemic. We have seen some examples of campaigns to promote social bonds and reduce social isolation during the pandemic, giving support and care to parents, family, friends and neighbours, such as the 'Estimat Diari' (Ajuntament de Barcelona, 2020) initiative from Barcelona City Council, through which children and young people were encouraged to use the 'Dear Diary' platform to express their thoughts and feelings about life during COVID-19, and became involved with civic life from their homes by sending messages to the Mayor, who made a weekly response via YouTube and IGTV.

But while some highly visible disasters have been happening, less visible and slow onset disasters continue to take place. These include the climate breakdowns that create refugees and mass migrations across Europe, or the persistent growth in austerity-related poverty and inequality manifested by the number of families accessing foodbanks or losing their homes. Working on the CUIDAR project, it was

sometimes a challenge for us to 'stick to the plan': we debated as a group whether to follow particular disasters as they unfolded in our countries, to try to find out how children and young people were affected and coping. But this would probably have been a mistake, because we would have been reacting to events, whereas our aims were proactive, to draw out through creative methods children's *existing* knowledges. We wanted to work with children's own definitions and identifications of disaster in order to make visible how young people could play a role as actors and citizens, rather than as victims. It was important to show how children's particular insights and experiences – sometimes of recent disasters, such as floods in the UK and previous earthquakes in Spain and Italy – or indeed of living with ongoing everyday risk, could help develop better plans and processes for DRM over the longer term.

> 'CUIDAR has made me see from another point of view how to tackle emergency planning in our institution.' (Deputy Director of Civil Protection, Catalonia, Spain, 2017)

The CUIDAR researchers

Five teams of researchers and practitioners came together to enact the project stages, contributing diverse skills and experience but with a common goal: participatory working. The CUIDAR coordinators from Lancaster, UK, drew on participatory work carried out since 2007 with children who suffered severe flooding in the UK 2013/14 floods in collaboration with Save the Children UK (Mort et al, 2018a). The insights gained and demands made by children living with flood risk on the Humber Estuary and Thames Valley inspired ideas about taking this approach into a European context. Accordingly, Save the Children UK contacted their colleagues at Save the Children Italy who were at the time forging relationships with Italian municipalities and civil protection authorities to have children's needs recognised in disaster management. The Spanish team was already exploring alternative views of disasters from an ethics of care perspective, engaging and thinking with undervalued and marginalised voices, geographies and temporalities in disasters. The Portuguese researchers had previous interests in climate change and environmental risk, and the Greek practitioners were to contribute their experience in special education and working with children with specific disabilities. It was important that any outcomes or recommendations from CUIDAR

would include the voices of disabled children and young people from diverse backgrounds.

Some key terms used in this book

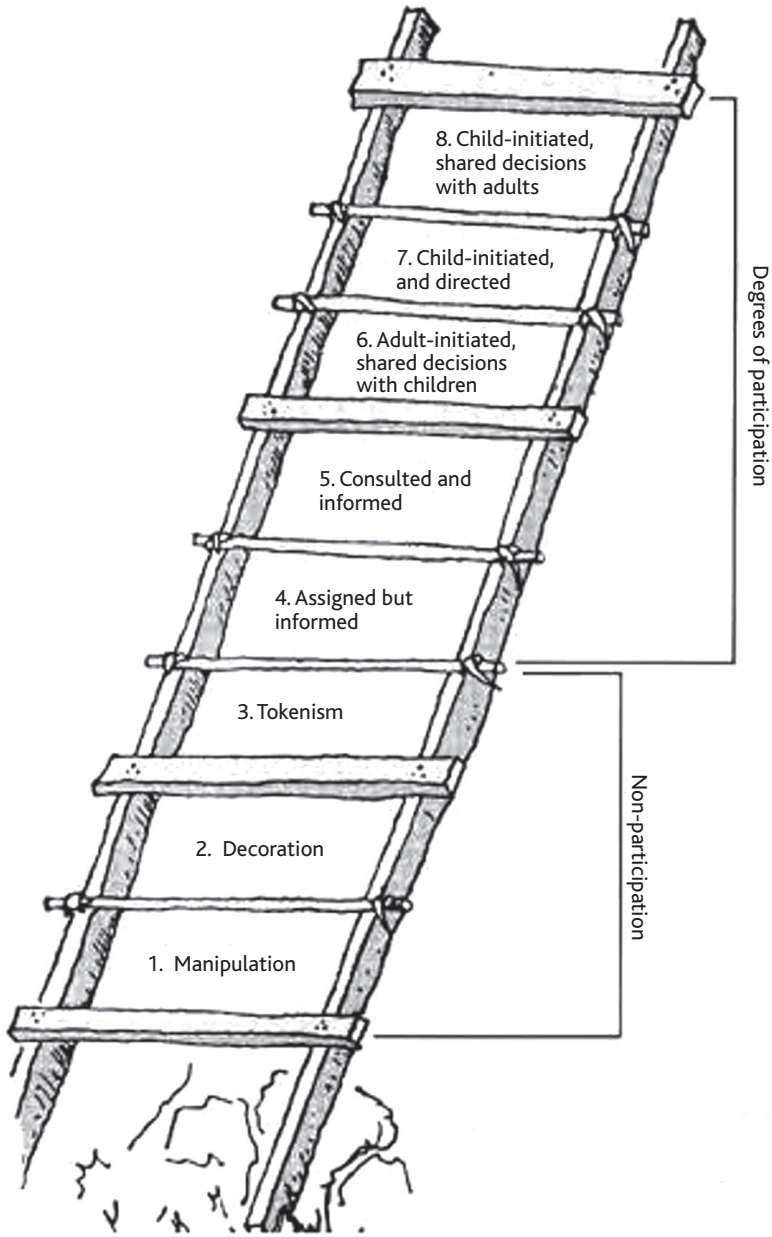
Participation and citizenship

Participation, like disasters, happens in places, and is shaped by the conditions of possibility in those places. As we found in our attempts to bring together decision-makers and children, these conditions include located experiences of inclusion/exclusion, not to mention ability/disability, gender, ethnicity and multiple forms of social diversity. But while participation is localised, it is also a set of ideas, theories and aspirations. Sherry Arnstein's hugely influential 'Ladder of Citizen Participation' (1969) offered a form of linear critique, from 'manipulation' to 'citizen control'. These ideas were later developed and applied to the position of young people by Roger Hart (1992) in his ladder: *Children's Participation: From Tokenism to Citizenship* (see Figure 0.3). Hart's ladder understands children's participation as a process in which young people are either informed, consulted or have the opportunity to become actively involved in, or even share, decision-making with adults. There are up to eight degrees of participation, although the last three (where children are tokenised, decorative or manipulated) are considered non-participation. At the top, we find projects or programmes that are initiated by children and young people, and in which adults share decision-making with younger people (rung 8) or play a supportive role (rung 7), or projects that, like CUIDAR, are initiated by adults but the decision-making is shared with young people (rung 6).

Save the Children has used Hart's ladder in much of its work. As researchers we were, however, aware of critiques and developments of this approach, as Chapter 1 explores. Aware of the tensions between theory and practice in participation, we realised the importance of working with local and cultural specificities, but then to push a bit further, to find ways to join with young people to widen their opportunities for entry into the expert, adultist framing of disaster risk management:

> 'We met the Civil Protection Volunteers. We had our map that we made during the project, and we showed them the important places for us: where we meet with our friends, to the schools, and to the places where there are landslides or risk of floods.' (Federica, 11 years old, Genoa, Italy)

Figure 0.3: Hart's ladder of participation



Note: Eight levels of young people's participation in projects (the ladder metaphor is borrowed from the well-known essay on adult participation by Arnstein (1969); the categories are new)

Source: UNICEF Office of Research-Innocenti

Working in those spaces we came to realise how the practices of participation became expressions of children's citizenship, long underestimated and occluded by established systems of governance. Thinking about citizenship practices then took us back to our initial discussions about Article 12 of the United Nations *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (OHCHR, 1989), with its formal expression of rights:

> Article 12 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child provides:
> 1. States Parties shall assure to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child.
> 2. For this purpose the child shall in particular be provided the opportunity to be heard in any judicial and administrative proceedings affecting the child, either directly, or through a representative or an appropriate body, in a manner consistent with the procedural rules of national law.

So, there was an important task for us here, to work on the mutual enhancement of theory and practice in children's participation in the context of disaster risk management. Here, of course, there is an important link with the UN Office for Disaster Risk Reduction Sendai Framework, which explicitly calls for recognition of children as strategic actors with the right to participate:

> Children and youth are agents of change and should be given the space and modalities to contribute to disaster risk reduction, in accordance with legislation, national practice and educational curricula. (UNDRR, 2015)

This links strongly with our second step in enacting CUIDAR: having asked young people to frame and tell us what disaster meant for them, we asked them, and then in sensitisation meetings, our governmental and practitioner participants, whether they were aware of UNCRC, in particular Article 12, and also of children's inclusion in the Sendai Framework. It turned out that awareness of these was extremely low. However, rather than this being a depressing and undermining moment, for us it helped open the door to our project: it gave children the confidence to speak and articulate their experience, and

interestingly, it gave adults 'permission' within organisations to spend time listening to children. In this way CUIDAR was performative, often literally, as a range of creative and theatre-based approaches was seen to foster children's articulation and adult listening:

> 'I enjoyed this activity [writing a manifesto for the National Policy Debate] because the adults involved were very direct talking to us. They didn't treat us just as children, but also as experts.' (Michela, 16 years old, Ancona, Italy)

Children and young people as a cultural group

What is it like to be a child living in a risky place today, and how can we find out about this? To what extent have old or traditional meanings of child/children shaped current attitudes to children's participation, particularly in DRM in European and Western contexts? The term *infant*, apart from referring to a child's earliest years, etymologically means 'one who does not or cannot speak', from the Latin *infans*. The Greek etymology from *pais* implies one who is (to be) educated, moulded to become an ideal member of the 'polis' or state. One of CUIDAR's challenges was therefore to contribute to changing these voiceless, rather passive meanings and status. This implied caring for, and about, children's insights and experiences and sensitising adults to enable them to listen to young people and then find ways to act on what they heard (Mort et al, 2018a).

Positioning children and young people as a cultural group was a way to enable them to have a seat at the table in the terms of the European Commission's Secure Societies programme (EC, nd), which had called for research into culturally sensitive disaster management plans. Taking a cultural approach therefore allowed us to regard children as more than a mere socio-demographic category. The focus on culture allowed us to speak of childhood as a socio-historical construction, which varies within contexts and settings. Furthermore, it was a way to speak of children and young people as forming 'subcultural' groups (Brake, 1985), whose ideas, beliefs and interests are sometimes at odds with those of the wider cultures in which they find themselves. It was a way, therefore, to speak of power, identity, visibility, voice, agency and rights in a DRM context. To their credit the European Commission peer reviewers and decision-makers must have agreed, to the extent that CUIDAR could be funded and enacted.

We worked with two versions of 'culture'. First, we regard children themselves as a cultural group by virtue of being disenfranchised from

emergency planning matters, which in turn gives them a particular perspective on disaster. Second, 'childhood' itself is often universalised, yet of course, children embody all the cultural differences and diversity found in society as a whole.

Disasters, risk management and risk reduction

Interestingly, we were criticised by European Commission monitors part way through the CUIDAR project for not starting out with a clear definition of 'disaster'. This challenge made us reassess and then renew our fundamental position: that children themselves would identify what counted as disaster for them.

Disaster is increasingly being understood as an outcome of social vulnerability and inequality, a product of human neglect or unbridled growth such as building on flood plains or too close to forests, neglecting safeguards for the sake of profit. Disaster can even become a site for the advance of profiteering (Klein, 2007). Because the poorest neighbourhoods and communities are the most likely to suffer the severest consequences of a natural hazard, this turns a hazard into a disaster. This does not mean that disasters are purely social events, but they certainly aren't natural (Guggenheim, 2014). The movement #NoNaturalDisasters comprises a group of academics and practitioners dedicated to shifting the prevailing language used in general discourse and media reporting around the use of 'natural', which, they argue, 'strips disaster stories of their social, political, environmental and economic context – one where injustice is pervasive' (Blanchard, 2018; No Natural Disasters, nd).

Social scientific research has shown over many years that disaster is not a thing or event, but a process – usually slower and longer than commonly perceived (Knowles, 2014), certainly messier and more complex than the traditional emergency planning cycle of mitigation, preparedness, response and recovery implies, and as critiqued by Easthope and Mort (2014). Our work, then, joins calls to question what counts as a disaster: when, how and for whom (with an emphasis on children and young people) a disaster comes into being. Definitions of disaster evolve in response to prevailing conditions, perceptions of those conditions and naming and framing practices. But so do understandings of who are the legitimate actors here, who has the right to speak and to take action. This is a fundamentally sociological concern, and one that then turns 'disaster' into an actionable concept, on which citizens, practitioners and policy-makers can work to reduce risks or improve management. We chose the acronym CUIDAR,

to take care, advisedly here, as it helps to bring out the underlying need for care in disaster risk reduction and management. To some extent we have aimed to push back against the security-based framing of safety, which favours technocratic responses such as surveillance devices, border controls and cyber crime deterrents, visible in the many projects developed within the EU Horizon 2020 programme. In contrast, a care-based approach looks to enhance resilience by supporting networks of social solidarity such as public sector health, social care and welfare systems. It also looks to democratising disaster risk management, in our case, by recognising the rights, skills and capacities of children and young people. We acknowledge that there is a rich and growing social scientific literature on disasters that we can only partly review in Chapter 1, confining ourselves to the aspects around children's participation in DRM.

The closely related terms 'disaster risk management' and 'disaster risk reduction' sometimes get used interchangeably, and this can be confusing. For many groups such as Save the Children, disaster risk reduction (DRR) is the goal, the aim underpinning working with children and young people. DRR is closely associated with the UN, which has a dedicated office in Geneva (UNDRR), and has produced major policies such as the Sendai Framework and a 'knowledge hub' called Prevention Web which describes disaster risk management (DRM) as the implementation of DRR since it: 'describes the actions that aim to achieve the objective of reducing risk' (PreventionWeb.net, 2015). So where does our work sit within this? As Figure 0.2 above shows, our aim was to move through a path of research, engagement and action. We soon discovered, as suspected, that children and young people were positioned as a vulnerable group within DRM, whose actions and capabilities had little visibility among adult decision-makers. So our aim was to have children included as actors and as citizens in the implementation of risk reduction. In this way we place our work within DRM.

Resilience

When working with children in CUIDAR, we were often struck by articulations of agency and capacity, such as this example from Greece:

> 'We want to be informed about how to react before, during and after the earthquake and we need to pass this knowledge on to the other members of the deaf community.' (Georgia, 11 years old, deaf/hard of hearing group, Athens, Greece)

The experience and actions of children and young people is an emerging subfield of disaster studies. Such work has helped scholars from disciplines such as psychology, sociology, anthropology, public health, geography and political science to understand, develop and expand how children and disasters interact, affect and transform each other. In particular, there is a growing area of research and practice that points to the need to encourage children's perspectives, capacities and actions in disaster risk management and climate change adaptation across the globe (Pfefferbaum et al, 2018; Alburo-Cañete, 2019; Towers et al, 2019). This subfield is also distinguished by new diverse, creative and participatory methods and approaches that researchers and advocates have used to work with children in disaster situations, as we will detail later in this book.

A key text here is *Children of Katrina* (Fothergill and Peek, 2015), which reports a major seven-year follow-up study of cohorts of children in the disaster diaspora. The book invites us to understand the experiences of these children, the different reactions they had to the same event, and how their response and recovery was marked by key factors such as age, socio-economic status, gender, ethnicity, social support, the role of the school and family or the support of the public administration. In this sense, the book also talks about the factors that build and strengthen resilience. Far from being a concept that we can only associate with individual dimensions such as personality or personal skills, Fothergill and Peek make visible the structural social factors that are key to understanding children's capacity to respond and recover in the face of disaster. These include, for example, access and capacity to mobilise resources and support at the social, political, institutional and/or school level. But equally important, the book also highlights the capacities and abilities, the talents and strengths, of children and young people to contribute to building resilience, for themselves, but also for their family and communities.

The CUIDAR project also confirmed the importance of thinking about resilience as something more than an individual adaptive property. Rather, as our participatory work showed, resilience is something that is achieved collectively, the fruit of empowering and creating interdependence, solidarity and agency, especially with those groups that are the most silenced and marginalised. In this context, children and young people play a fundamental role, for example, in providing resources and support to improve communication, care, knowledge or the empowerment and participation of their families and communities. While the objective of this book is not primarily to explore the complexities of the resilience concept, the subject of

a growing critical debate (see, for example, Grove, 2018), we will explore some of the lines of work around it that our participatory work with children opens up.

Overview of chapters

The chapters largely follow the process of first exploring and discussing the literatures and state of play around children's participation in disaster risk management, through designing flexible and ethical approaches to engaging with children and young people, to the multiple outcomes and recommendations CUIDAR produced.

Chapter 1 shows how children, while affected by risk and disaster, are almost never involved in disaster risk management activities. We examine assumptions that are made about children and young people in disaster management, and how these affect and shape their participation. We draw on our analysis of 261 programmes, policies and practices developed in five European Union (EU) countries (Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain and the UK), and discuss the results in the context of the international literature. Despite the growing interest in participatory approaches, the active participation of children and young people in disaster risk management is still scarce in Europe. In general, children and young people are seldom included in the management of disasters as they are mostly considered as a vulnerable group. Participation, if pursued, remains within a context of rules and goals determined by experts and other adults. The tokenistic views of most adults hinder participation and, although there is an increasing tendency to address this situation, children and young people are still under-represented in decision-making processes.

Chapter 2 concentrates on how we facilitated interactions between children and decision-makers. We describe the methodology for working with children and young people in Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain and the UK. We explain how we structured the work in stages: Dialogues with Children, Mutual Learning Exercises (MLEs) with children and stakeholders, and National Policy Debates to diffuse and discuss the results of the local endeavours. The aims and procedures in each stage, and how this was accomplished in each country, is explained, highlighting contextual adaptations.

Chapter 3 details what we learned from the CUIDAR process, reporting on what emerged from our interactions with children, exploring the range of risk and hazards they identified and prioritised, including wildfires, chemical leaks, earthquakes, flooding and heat waves. We discuss how those young people then went on to speak

about this to practitioners and decision-makers, providing them with insights and recommending improvements. We discuss the feedback, reactions and 'barriers' identified during the process. We draw on interviews and group discussions with experts and on the MLEs. These interactions show that children's participation results in better decisions, higher-quality services, greater access to those services and better development outcomes as a result.

In Chapter 4 we explore how we built our Child-Centred Disaster Risk Management Framework in Europe. We introduce its main components (adult imaginaries about childhood; awareness of children's rights; high-quality participation; importance of networks of allies; communication; intergenerational exchanges; managing emotions; and feeling safe in public spaces). Each step outlined in the Framework flows directly from our interactions with children and young people. Whether creating new plans or reviewing existing ones, these steps, if followed, will result in inclusive and culturally sensitive plans relevant before, during and after disasters. Each is explained in detail and linked with concrete examples from the CUIDAR experience. The chapter also critiques the very idea of 'framework', analysing the use of this policy and conceptual tool within both management and social science.

Chapter 5 discusses what we found to be the best resources and methods used to include children's voices, with additional material and advice provided from experienced researchers and practitioners from across the world. Examples include participatory mapping, creative and artistic methods such as drawings, aerial photographs and the use of 3D shapes and games. This chapter encourages practical ways of promoting intergenerational learning, the use of new media to foster communication and informal learning and give more value to the local and grounded knowledge of children, their families and communities. It introduces best practices and found examples of the children's agency in disaster management, both in Europe and globally. Policy-makers and practitioners can use these tools, methods and examples for inspiration and to promote more child-centred policy and practice.

In the 'Concluding remarks' chapter we take a wider, higher-level view of the CUIDAR project and its key themes. We look back on how our work resonates with theories of participation and citizenship, rights and disasters. We return to our acronym and explore how the notion of care has somehow been excised in the securitisation of DRM, which has increasingly prioritised notions of control, hierarchy and (national) sovereignty above notions of care, interdependence or vulnerability. We reflect on some of the ways that policy and practice have begun to change as a result of our project. Finally, we add a few

words about disaster stories and temporality to emphasise that our Framework for child-centred DRM does not have to be followed in any particular order, but has many entry points for those who wish to create a more inclusive future for this domain.

1

Children, participation and disasters in Europe: A poor record

Israel Rodríguez-Giralt, Miriam Arenas and Daniel López Gómez[1]

Introduction

The role of children in disaster risk management (DRM) is an emerging subfield of disaster studies in which Peek et al (2018, 2019) have noted major empirical, theoretical and methodological advances in recent years. Such studies have helped scholars from disciplines such as psychology, sociology, anthropology, public health, geography or political science, to name just a few, understand, develop and expand how children and disasters interact with, affect and transform each other. The growth of this field coincides with, and has been encouraged by, two major policy pronouncements: the United Nations *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (UNCRC) (OHCHR, 1989), which has clearly contributed to a more explicit discussion of children's rights in disaster situations (Hayward, 2012), and the inclusive and participatory turn promoted by the UN's *Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015–2030* (UNDRR, 2015). Accordingly, children are increasingly (and globally) engaged in participatory action projects that aim to enhance their strengths and build their personal and collective resilience (Zeng and Silverstein, 2011).

The main goal of this chapter is to provide an overview of the work done in this area internationally, and particularly at the European level. We draw on the Scoping Review undertaken for the CUIDAR project, analysing 261 programmes, policies and practices developed in five EU countries (Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain and the UK), and discuss how children and young people are currently involved in DRM. Specifically, we are interested in understanding what assumptions are made about children and young people in DRM, and how these assumptions affect and shape their participation.

Children's participation in disaster risk management

The interest in experiences of children in disaster situations goes back almost eight decades and has been consolidating and grown enormously in the last decade: more than half of the academic production on these topics has been produced since 2010 (Peek et al, 2018). This growing interest reflects, on the one hand, the impact of recent disasters, such as a series of earthquakes in Indonesia and the Indian Ocean tsunami (2004), Hurricane Katrina (2005), the Christchurch earthquake (2011) and Japan's triple disaster (2011), as well as a growing concern about the consequences of the climate crisis. Undoubtedly, the pandemic caused by COVID-19 will also have profound effects on research in this field. However, this mounting interest reflects a growing concern about the disproportionate impact that disasters have on children and young people. Not precisely because this is a particularly physically or psychologically fragile group, but because it is a group frequently overlooked in disaster planning and management, a fact that greatly amplifies their vulnerability.

Throughout these decades, there are many disciplines, approaches and methods, not to mention advances in policies and practices, that have improved understanding of the relationship between children and disasters. It is not our intention to make an exhaustive review of all these contributions. There are interesting works already in this regard, the most prominent one surely being the recent review conducted by Peek et al (2018) (see also, Peek, 2008; Peek and Fothergill, 2008; Boon et al, 2011; Lopez et al, 2012; Johnson et al, 2014b; Tatebe and Mutch, 2015). In Peek et al (2018) the reader can find an analysis of the substantive contributions made by the academic world around this topic. Specifically, they identify up to six waves of studies, highly interlinked, on the experience or impact of disasters on children: works focused on mental health and behavioural impact; physical health and wellbeing; social vulnerability and socio-demographic characteristics; socio-ecological context; resilience, strengths and capacities; and finally, voices, perspectives and actions. Many of these perspectives, or thematic axes, as we said, have fed each other, configuring an emerging, dynamic and highly multidisciplinary field. In this sense, and despite the fact that mental health research predominates, a notable increase in research from the social sciences is becoming visible. This has favoured shifting the focus to topics such as the study of the perspectives, voices, experiences and rights of children and young people in disaster situations. Methodologically, the interest has moved towards more participatory, ethnographic and

longitudinal approaches. The CUIDAR project clearly builds on this last wave.

But what accounts for this growing interest in the voices, participation and agency of children and young people in disaster situations? Children and young people are not only an important population group (around 20–50% of the population, depending on the country); they are also a group particularly exposed to disaster risk. It is calculated, for example, that annually around 175 million girls and boys are affected by disasters (see Webster et al, 2009), which undoubtedly encourages research, plans and policies for and with this group. But there are more reasons. As the scientific literature shows, children and young people bring crucial skills, perspectives and knowledge to preparedness and resilience-building in their homes, schools and communities. Children often have the time, energy, creativity and capacity to contribute to disaster risk reduction (DRR), and their involvement in these efforts is becoming recognised by researchers and practitioners alike. Meaningful inclusion of children and young people is, without doubt, a way to improve their lives, but also their future prospects and those of their communities. A good guide in this regard is *Words into Action Guidelines: Engaging Children and Youth in Disaster Risk Reduction and Resilience Building* (UNDRR, 2020), recently published by the UN following up the guidelines of the *Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015–2030* (UNDRR, 2015). This contains abundant examples of how children and young people are already raising awareness of safety issues in schools, homes and in their communities.

We have compiled other available evidence in scientific papers published between 2000 and 2015 that directly explore or assess the 'voice' and 'agency' of children in disaster management. Rather than detail the process followed to review this literature, we simply mention that in total, we reviewed 94 scientific articles published in Oceania (40%), America (24%), Europe (22%), Asia (8%) and Africa (6%). These papers mostly addressed issues of education (the role of schools in disaster situations, educational tools for disaster risk and resilience education, preparedness and drill performance in schools), psychology (coping strategies, stress, emotional work, psychosocial interventions) and communication (risk and emergency communication). However, what is most relevant to this chapter is that this literature provides abundant arguments of the effectiveness of children and young people's involvement in DRM.

For instance, this literature shows that children have strong potential for raising awareness, contextualising knowledge, using analytical

tools and prioritising actions. They are adept, for example, at creating educational murals, disseminating warnings, designing preparedness measures and planning to protect the environment, their families and the wider community (Finnis et al, 2010; Bolton et al, 2014; Ronan et al, 2015). They are also skilled at organising events such as drama, music, art exhibitions and community meetings to increase community knowledge, and even at building coalitions with parents and other stakeholders and advocating for risk reduction (Benson and Bugge, 2007; Back et al, 2009; Cumiskey et al, 2015). The literature also demonstrates the role children can play as first responders, engaging in search and rescue, providing food, and participating in other emergency response activities (Sunal and Coleman, 2013; Fernández and Shaw, 2015).

Children and young people can also utilise their strengths at analysing and communicating risk (Mitchell et al, 2008), sharing and contextualising knowledge, building credibility and trust, and persuading others to take action (such as using media, theatre, music). Their role as translators, mediators and brokers between generations and communities is highly important. For instance, Mitchell et al (2009) documented the role of young people from the Vietnamese community in New Orleans, following Hurricane Katrina, in assisting the evacuation and relief efforts, as they could translate key information (food distribution, access to relief supplies, etc) from formal English sources for their families. Marlowe and Bogen (2015) have provided evidence of how young people from refugee backgrounds acted as cultural brokers and mediators during the Canterbury earthquakes in New Zealand, ensuring their respective communities had access to disaster-related information and that this information was properly translated and interpreted. Children and young people can also be accomplished social networkers and community-builders, mobilising people and resources (Geiselhart et al, 2008), volunteering, raising funds and providing mutual help and peer counselling.

Younger children's involvement is also particularly relevant in making sense of disasters (Gawith, 2013; Mutch, 2013; Freeman et al, 2015). For instance, children's accounts have proved significant for raising subtle (Harwood et al, 2014) or neglected aspects of disaster situations (Bolton et al, 2014), such as who is affected by the events and how vulnerability is (re)produced during the recovery process (Walker et al, 2012). Bartlett (2008) reports how children brought fresh perspectives and practical common sense to discussions after the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami, contributing, together with parents, to designing spaces for

children to play and study, and for adult members to socialise and hold social celebrations. Children's significant participation in decision-making processes is also reported in Bangladesh (Martin, 2010; Mitchell and Borchard, 2014), where they devised important interventions such as tree planting, boat building and bridge construction.

Children's active participation also plays an important role in providing emotional processing opportunities for children and young people themselves (Mutch, 2013; Walker et al, 2012), enabling them to cope better with changes to their homes and to make decisions about repairs after a disaster (Martin, 2010; Walker et al, 2012; Whittle et al, 2012). Indeed, there is evidence that significant mental health and wellbeing benefits arise from this involvement (Anderson, 2005; Mitchell et al, 2009), for instance to prevent or manage post-traumatic stress symptoms (Lai et al, 2019).

It is argued that these positive outcomes would not be possible without the development and improvement of a wide and diverse set of methods to work for and with children in disaster risk reduction (DRR) (Seballos and Tanner, 2011; Haynes and Tanner, 2013). This has been noted particularly with the use of artistic and creative methods (Looman, 2006; Gangi and Barowsky, 2009) and with the introduction of more ethnographic and participatory approaches (Plan International, 2010; Mellor et al, 2014). It has been shown that the use of drawing (Sunal and Coleman, 2013; Izadkhah and Gibbs, 2015), mosaic making (Locke and Yates, 2015), comics (Sharpe and Izadkhah, 2014), and in particular 3D activities such as sand play, modelling and sculpture (Mort et al, 2016), facilitates deeper individual and group engagement in disaster preparation, rebuilding and recovery activities (Plan International, 2013; Shah, 2013). Similarly, the significance of telling stories is also important, particularly for the very young (Mutch, 2013), to come to terms with what has happened and share and create a common narrative that contributes to the recovery process and building resilience (Walker et al, 2012; Whittle et al, 2012). As was shown in the case of the 2010/11 earthquakes in Canterbury, New Zealand, with careful facilitation and support, children can draw on their personal experiences, even those that are more traumatic, in a constructive manner (Mutch, 2013). By recalling events in narrative or creative ways, designing and creating artwork and films, children were keen to talk about the vividness of their recall, their shocks about the deaths in the city and their sadness about the damage and changes in their locality, and yet they developed an ability to create some perspective between themselves and the events: 'These activities allowed them to individually and collaboratively draw their

experiences into coherent narratives which they absorb into their own personal histories and which support their return to emotional and psychological equilibrium' (Mutch, 2013: 452).

Similarly, social scientists at Lancaster University have researched the effects of floods on the lives of families and children in three major projects: Hull Floods Project (2007–09), Hull Children's Flood Project (2007–11) and 'Children, Young People and Flooding: Recovery and Resilience' (2014–16). These projects have generated videos, storyboards, games, narratives and models that serve to express the social effects that flooding and flooded homes have on children's lives. By creating a range of opportunities for these stories to be articulated, the Lancaster team was able to work with children on the next step: what needs to be done. In constructing their Flood Manifestos,[2] a set of practical demands for adult stakeholders at all levels of governance, children and young people moved to become policy actors, participants in decision-making, in civil society.

The role that schools can play in engaging children and young people in disaster management is also given importance in the literature. This includes providing activities to enable processing of emotions and enabling children to gain perspective and distance as part of their recovery from disaster events (Mutch and Gawith, 2014). School is not only where children can be educated and acquire knowledge, habits and skills (Gibbs et al, 2014a; Ronan et al, 2015), but also a place from which preventive culture can be shared and co-produced with the community (Finnis et al, 2004; UNISDR, 2005; Wisner, 2006; Tipler et al, 2010; Selby and Kagawa, 2012; Mutch, 2014). Teachers are seen to have a central role in community resilience, not only by restoring children's roles and routines, providing physical and emotional security (Barrett et al, 2008), helping them to find distraction and develop coping skills (O'Connor and Takahashi, 2014), but also by helping turn the school into a place for empowerment of the wider community (Tatebe and Mutch, 2015).

Similarly, some papers discuss the role and effectiveness of hazard education, particularly of the programmes that focus too heavily on preparedness (Gibbs et al, 2014b; Ronan et al, 2015) or on a single recent disaster, and when centred on hazard identification, emergency equipment and drills (Johnson et al, 2014a). In contrast, researchers advocate not only an increase in the number and frequency of activities (Ronan and Johnston, 2001; King and Tarrant, 2013), but also a diversification of disaster scenarios (Bird and Gísladóttir, 2014) to further embed preparedness and response skills (Martin, 2010). Johnson et al (2014b) have suggested that practice drills and other activities

should be held at unexpected times and locations, thereby requiring the ability to translate skills to less familiar situations. For instance, children who have previously been involved in hazard education also have more realistic perceptions of risk, reduced fears of hazards and increased knowledge of how to build preparedness, particularly when they receive constructive feedback during practices (Ronan and Johnston, 2001; Ronan et al, 2008, 2010, 2015). However, knowledge is still lacking on how and why educational programmes affect or reduce social vulnerability (Barrett et al, 2008; Gibbs et al, 2014b; Apronti et al, 2015), and how disaster education programmes facilitate children's roles in household readiness (Ronan et al, 2015) and their self-protective capacities or likelihood of being prepared for disasters in adulthood (Johnson et al, 2014a). In fact, the main problem identified by the literature is the minimal space given to the voices of children within education. There is still a tendency to use principals, teachers and parents as children's spokespersons.

However, this growing interest in increasing the participation of children and young people in DRM must also be approached carefully and viewed critically. For example, viewing this through a cultural lens might allow us to examine adult imaginaries of child/children when it comes to enabling such participation (Mitchell et al, 2009). As Nikku (2013) argues, children's participation also depends on how their rights and the very notion of childhood is constructed and interpreted. An inadequate concept of children's rights may create tokenistic and 'adultist' ideas about participation (Hart, 1992), and can undermine children's confidence and agency (Fernández and Shaw, 2013, 2014). To this extent, it is important to examine adult imaginaries of children and participation, overcoming the perception of children as a passive and homogeneous group. Similarly, it is crucial to make visible the importance of socio-economic (Grotberg, 2001) and cultural specificities (Sillah, 2015; Taylor and Peace, 2015), as well as gender, disability (Boon et al, 2011; Ronoh et al, 2015a, b), ethnic diversity (Bolton et al, 2014), religion (Haynes et al, 2010; Taylor and Peace, 2015) or location (Gaillard and Pangilinan, 2010), to name a few variables affecting and shaping children's experience and possibilities for participation. Disability and gender are of particular interest in disaster research. For instance, as Bartlett (2008) states, although girls may often appear more resilient, they tend to be more vulnerable when they are denied basic rights and opportunities to participate (see also Haynes et al, 2010). Those with mobility and cognitive disabilities are at particular risk in the event of a disaster (Boon et al, 2011).

The European experience

Although the review of the literature allowed us to discover interesting evidence from some European countries, the truth is that this was scarce, particularly in comparison with other countries affected by major disasters, such as the US, New Zealand, Australia (see Ronan and Towers, 2019), Japan, Bangladesh, Haiti, the Philippines, India, El Salvador or Indonesia. So, to shed some light on this, we also carried out a review of the five countries participating in the CUIDAR project: Greece, Italy, Portugal, Spain and the United Kingdom. This is based on documentary analysis supplemented by some focused interviews.

Scoping methodology

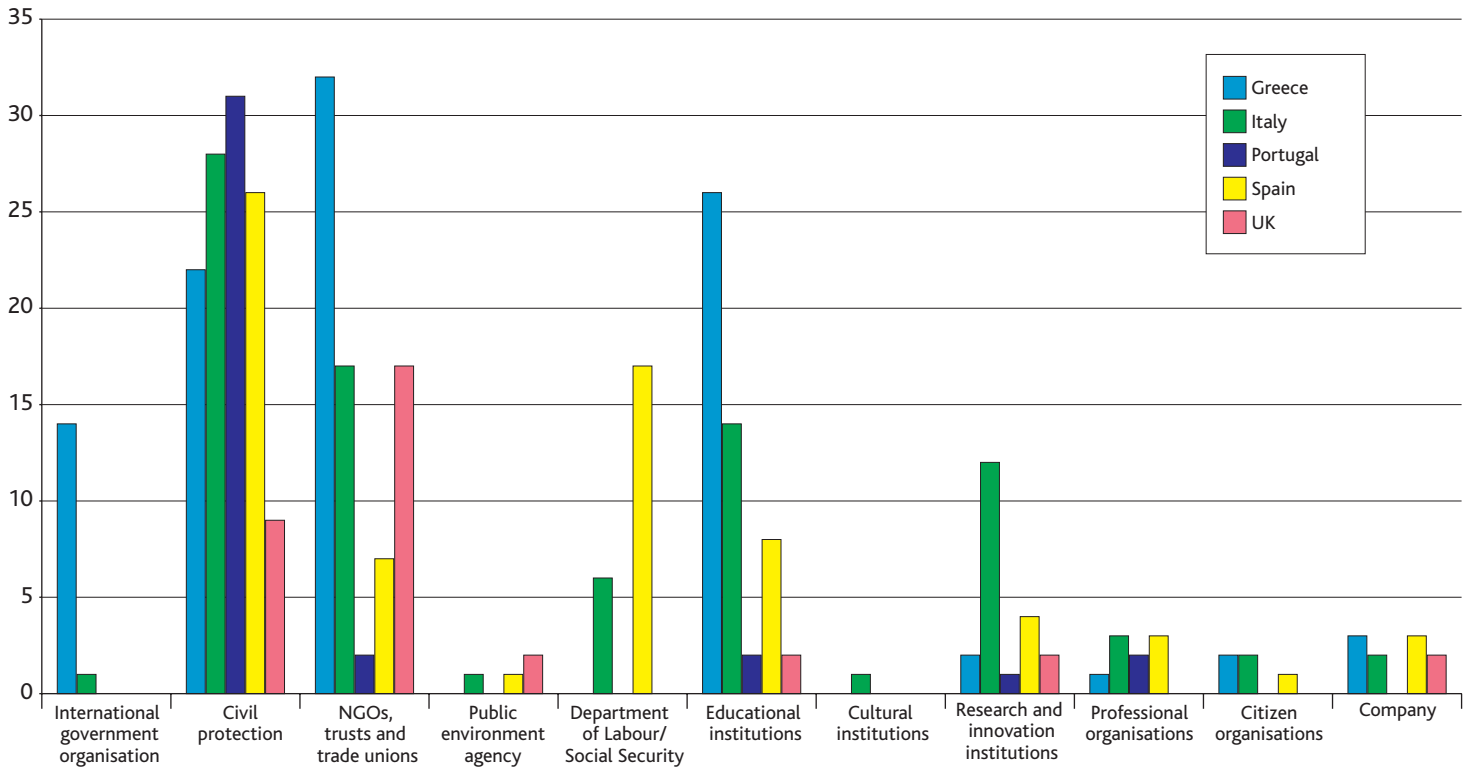
Scoping reviews are a relatively new type of literature analysis (Arksey and O'Malley, 2005). In contrast to systematic reviews and other methods, scoping reviews are particularly recommended to map existing literature – academic publishing, but also 'grey literature', such as research reports and policy documents – in fields that, like this one, are emergent, complex and diverse, and have yet to be comprehensively reviewed (see Peters et al, 2015). They are also useful for clarifying working definitions and conceptual boundaries of a topic or field, and identifying research and practice gaps, thereby creating recommendations for policy, practice and research.

We aimed to scope out and review what was known about the active role of children and young people in DRM programmes in the five participating European countries. To get started, each partner country first conducted an internet search to identify, collect and classify relevant documents (such as websites, documents, reports, guides, exercises, workshops and games). Altogether, we collected 750 documents and materials that matched the inclusion criteria.[3] Second, the Scoping Review was used to identify the key 100 practitioners to be interviewed, working in education, civil protection, NGOs, research, industry or as members of citizen groups. These practitioners, experts and/or professionals were crucial for providing the information, confirmation and insights required for us to complete, polish and refine our searches (see Levac et al, 2010).

Main findings

Although there are some important differences between partner countries (see Figure 1.1), our Scoping Review identified that most of

Figure 1.1: Types of organisation running programmes, by country



the programmes were run by public administrations and implemented at a local level by regional and local civil protection agencies. According to some interviewees, this contributes to enhancing the local ownership of these actions, but it can also lead to fragmentation and lack of continuity at the national level. In Greece, for instance, the Institute of Geodynamics at the National Observatory of Athens has signed a Cooperation Agreement with schools to plan and implement activities and workshops for students and teachers about seismic risk. Thanks to this, educational visits can take place and schools can borrow seismological tools for educational purposes. The Greek National Archaeological Museum, the Fire Museum and the Natural History Museum of Lesvos also provide educational programmes for children to promote their awareness and preparedness.

We also identified involvement by NGOs in the development of DRM programmes and initiatives for children and young people. For instance, UNICEF has produced pedagogical materials (2016) to raise awareness about the refugee and financial crises among students in Greek and UK schools, promoting the creation of videos and games to make children aware of poverty, social exclusion and rights violations. Local Resilience Forums (LRFs) in the UK,[4] such as Hampshire, have also included links to the UN Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNDRR, formerly UNISDR) simulation game 'Stop Disasters!',[5] aimed at secondary school-age children and young people. The Lombardy Regional School of Civil Protection (Éupolis Lombardia) Italy and the General Secretariat for Civil Protection in Greece have used the game 'Let's learn to prevent disasters!' that was created by UNICEF and UNDRR for non-European contexts.

Other actors from the private sector, such as insurance organisations (particularly in the UK, Spain and Portugal), but professional associations too, are also playing an important role in the development of disaster education programmes. For instance, Pau Costa Foundation (an international platform on forest fire management) has developed MeFITu – *els boscos mediterrànis, el foc i tu* (Mediterranean forests, fire and you)[6] – a project for schools close to zones affected by wildfires. The main aim of the programme is for children and young people (but also teachers and parents) to change their relationship with the scorched landscape by experiencing how woods regenerate following a wildfire, thus creating a culture of fire ecology.

The majority of initiatives collected and analysed as part of the Scoping Review were disaster risk education programmes (52.9%) and awareness and information campaigns (34.9%). We also identified a number of support programmes (11.9%) and reconstruction projects

(0.4%), where children and young people are specifically mentioned or addressed.

Educational programmes

These can be divided into two broad categories: safety education and disaster risk education. The former are more focused on security issues and intended to promote a culture of safety and reduce everyday risks, such as risky health behaviour and accidents in schools. Their general aim is to raise children and young people as responsible citizens endowed with safety skills. For instance, in Italy, we found programmes such as 'Sicurezza in cattedra' ('Safety in learning'), an educational and management model developed in the Veneto region by SiRVeSS, the technical body responsible for the promotion of occupational safety in school, which aims to develop a culture of safety among children. In Portugal in 2006, the National Authority for Civil Protection launched the Civil Protection Clubs programme, to stimulate the creation of volunteer clubs in schools to encourage children and young people from 10 to 17 years old to become more active in risk reduction by providing information, training and developing activities. In Spain, almost every regional government has developed its own toolkit to foster a culture of safety among children and young people, such as 'No badis!' (Watch out!) in Catalonia; '¡A salvo!' (Safe!) in Castilla León or 'Prevebús Joven' ('Prevention Bus for Young People') in Andalucía. The target ages for these educational programmes are broad: from online games designed to teach 4-year-old children to identify risky situations and danger signs, to role-playing games for 16- to 18-year-olds.

Disaster risk education programmes generally aim to foster an increased capacity among children and young people to protect themselves and understand and reduce the risk of disasters and emergencies. They are intended to teach children and young people the causes and consequences of disasters and emergencies, but also to foster preventative behaviour and attitudes and reduce impacts at school, home and in communities. They are designed to teach children about basic concepts, such as *disaster*, *risk* and *hazard*, and provide them with safety skills to identify, prevent and respond to specific threats and disasters. The majority of educational programmes are issued by civil protection authorities together with government departments of education to be implemented in schools.

In general, both types of programmes are largely textbook-based and implemented in schools as instructional activities. In most

countries, national civil protection authorities together with ministries of education publish pedagogical guidelines for teachers in primary and secondary schools to implement in the classroom. This is the case with the 'Programa de Educación para la Prevención en Centros Escolares' ('Disaster Prevention Programme for Schools') in Spain, or the 'Referencial de Educação para o Risco' ('Framework for Risk Education') in Portugal, or the 'Scuola Multimediale di Protezione Civile' ('Multimedia School of Civil Protection') in Italy.

These are guidance documents for the implementation of complementary curriculum components related to risk education in all levels of compulsory education. However, most of these programmes are unevenly implemented. Most countries (such as Spain, Italy, Portugal and Greece) have legislation relating to safety measures in schools, including mandatory emergency plans, but only in Greece are textbooks on disaster and emergency education distributed to all children for use as the main educational material in every school. In the other CUIDAR countries, only in those schools with enough resources or with teachers sensitised to civil protection issues are such activities and textbooks used in the classroom. For instance, Education Scotland has issued its Ready Scotland[7] website to bring emergency resilience into the curriculum, but this is not a mandatory requirement for schools.

These guidelines usually start with an introduction to the national system of civil protection that aims to help children and young people recognise civil protection practitioners or first responders in an emergency situation. Together with instructional guidelines on safety at school and home, these programmes usually include lectures and activities on specific disasters. Earthquakes, floods, tsunamis, volcanoes, bushfires and nuclear or radiation incidents are the emergencies most frequently covered. These also tend to include content that can be used and adapted by teachers and schools according to the age groups and subjects in their curricula. These teaching guidelines usually include creative activities such as the organisation of live shows, plays, drawing or art competitions, and often include hands-on activities in civil protection or fire and rescue service premises.

For instance, the LRF of the English counties Hampshire and the Isle of Wight developed 'Susie the childminder' books to help primary school children stay safe and prepare for emergencies.[8] The stories can be read online and are followed by activities designed to be fun while reinforcing the key messages. Northamptonshire's LRF provides primary school-age children with a toy bear called Edward Paws, alongside fun activities to help them understand what they can do to

prepare themselves and their families for emergencies. Similarly, the Lisbon Civil Protection Service has a programme named 'Crescer na Segurança' ('Growing up in Safety') that includes a mock-up house, 'Casa do Tinoni' ('House of Tinoni'), where school groups learn through hands-on methods about different risks, including the two most significant in the city: earthquakes and urban fires.

In Italy, 'In vacanza con Sunny: una vera frana!' ('On holiday with Sunny: a real landslide!') aims to increase hydrogeological risk awareness and promote a culture of civil protection among primary school children through the creation of interactive learning material focused on the risk of landslides. The material includes a wide choice of adventures by a dog named Sunny, bringing in scientific experiments, games, models to be built, and brochures and guides, to promote civil protection in primary school curricula.

On geological risks we also find 'Sebastiano ti prende per mano'[9] ('Sebastian takes you by the hand'), a project to enhance children's perception of natural hazards through the language of music and images. An associated CD with eight songs for children and teens has been produced, each with a specific geological risk theme and accompanied by animated video clips, and a theatre representation titled 'Sebastiano all'Opera'[10] was performed by school-age dancers in Florence. For their participatory approach, it is also worth mentioning the Italian project 'Responsabili studenti sicurezza' ('Student representatives for safety') and the 'Vito Scafidi' prize.[11] The first is intended to train students as school safety managers, and the latter is a competition calling for innovative projects on school and community safety issues and active citizenship. These complementary materials and events are intended to familiarise children with the work of civil protection authorities and establish a relationship of trust from an early age (3–5 years).

Awareness campaigns

Children and young people are also addressed in a number of public awareness campaigns. Mostly they include self-protection recommendations, intended to raise awareness among the school community about how to identify risks, acquire safe practices and develop skills in civil protection and promote suitable attitudes and behaviours in cases of emergency. These are usually organised by the municipalities of partner countries, in coordination with local and regional civil protection authorities, and are legally enforced. The primary purpose of these campaigns, like educational programmes

in schools, is to foster safety and ensure children and young people cooperate in the effective implementation of emergency plans. These awareness campaigns are therefore strongly linked to emergency plans set at a regional level to reduce specific disaster risks, and include school and municipal emergency plans and safety recommendations for households. As is the case with educational programmes, awareness campaigns and support programmes are therefore highly specific to each country's principal threats.

In Italy, one of the main national prevention initiatives is the awareness campaign 'Io non rischio – Buone pratiche di protezione civile'[12] ('I don't take risks – Good civil protection practices'), organised in public spaces by Civil Protection Volunteers. In Portugal, a yearly exercise named 'A Terra Treme'[13] ('When the Earth Shakes', based on the US model, 'ShakeOut') takes place each November, promoted by the Civil Protection Authority. Schools, businesses, NGOs and individual citizens are invited simultaneously to take protective measures against earthquakes. The 2015 exercise had thousands of registered participants, most of them in schools. In Spain, children and young people often set off fireworks when participating in 'correfocs' (parades that take place mostly in Catalonia, València and the Balearic Islands, in which people dress as devils, dance, light fireworks and run through the streets) for the Festival of Saint John and other popular summer events. At these times, regional and local civil protection authorities disseminate posters and comic books to alert parents and young people to the dangers of fireworks and provide specific instructions on safe handling.

Other initiatives

Children and young people are also the targets of support actions and programmes as part of disaster response and recovery processes. The majority of these are addressed to children and young people with the intention of mitigating emotional trauma, a highly significant problem acknowledged in most of the programmes. The majority are developed by NGOs in collaboration with research institutions and professional associations, usually of psychologists and social workers, and are shaped as toolkits to be implemented by practitioners, teachers and parents in the field.

For instance, in Spain, 'Érase una vez unos valientes!' ('Once upon a time there were the brave!') is a toolkit developed by the Spanish Association of Psychologists to help children cope with the Lorca earthquake (2011). The main goal of this resource is to help children

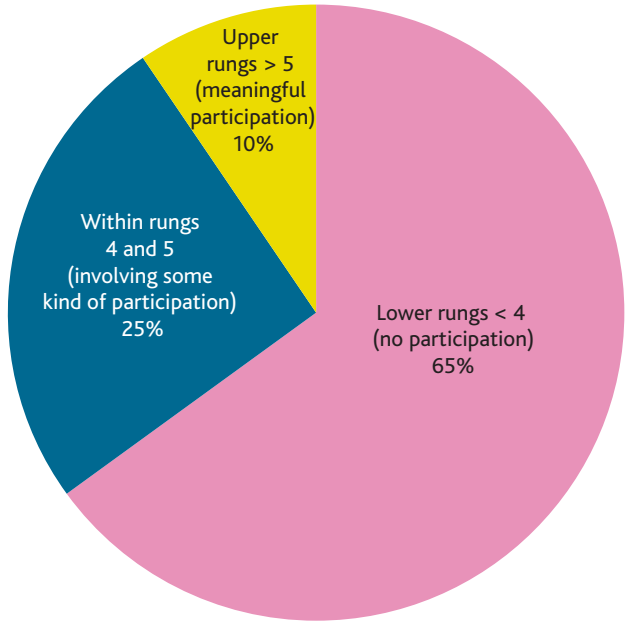
express and discuss their experiences and feelings. In the UK, the 'Journey of Hope' is a programme to help children and adults to cope with traumatic events. It was originally developed by Save the Children in the US after Hurricane Katrina in 2005, and it has also recently been tested in Australia, Italy, Spain and New Zealand after extreme events ranging from disasters to violent incidents. In Portugal, CAPIC (Centro de Apoio Psicológico e Intervenção em Crise, Centre for Psychological Support and Crisis Intervention) is a unit of the National Institute of Medical Emergency that specialises in providing psychological support in crisis situations. Their interventions with children occur mainly in the event of wildfires and accidents. Educational materials created by CAPIC include a special backpack equipped with games and materials for drawing and play.

Children's participation within these programmes

Overall, of all the programmes and plans designed for children and young people we analysed, 35 per cent of them (91 out of 261) involved some kind of participation. According to Hart's 'ladder of participation' (Hart, 1992), this includes rung 4: 'Assigned but informed', rung 5: 'Consulted and informed'; rung 6: 'Adult-initiated, shared decisions with children'; rung 7: 'Child-initiated, and directed'; and rung 8: 'Child-initiated, shared decisions with adults'. Of those programmes considered participatory, however, only 28 per cent could be included as more meaningful forms of participation (25 out of 91, 9.5% of the total; see Figure 1.2), that is, within rungs 6 and 7, according to Hart's ladder. It is important to note that we didn't find any instance of programmes within rung 8.

In Spain, we discovered interesting examples of young people participating in recovery processes. The most prominent was 'Quan perdem la por' ('When fear vanishes'), a comic book created by a 15-year-old member of the Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca (Platform for People Affected by Mortgages). The story depicts the life of a family about to be evicted from their home, and aims to raise awareness about this problem from the perspective of a child. In the UK, the community work undertaken after the Buncefield industrial accident (2005–07) shows the importance of providing opportunities for children's voices to be heard in the response and recovery phases of a disaster. This project established a young people's forum, together with an art competition, to discuss progress on investigations into the emotional long-term impact of the event on children and families. In Italy, 'Vibrazioni'[14] ('Vibrations') was a radio/podcast experiment about

Figure 1.2: Programmes, actions and plans involving adult-initiated shared decisions with young people, or led and initiated by children or young people



the 2009 L'Aquila earthquake disaster, presented through the voices of affected secondary school students and citizens. Also related to this disaster was a participatory project called 'Ricostuiamo l'Acquilone' ('Rebuild the Kite'), which involved children in the reconstruction of the school garden after the earthquake in L'Aquila. This case is especially interesting because the participation of children was not only therapeutic, helping children cope with the socio-psychological impact of the disaster; it also acknowledged them as social actors who could meaningfully contribute to community recovery.

Among the more participatory initiatives we see different formats. Most tend to address the consequences of specific disasters. Their main aim is to generate a space where the voices of children and young people can be heard, and to provide them with the opportunity to participate in the recovery process, either through the knowledge they gain or because they are actively involved in undertaking risk reduction and recovery activities. But we also identified a number of practices that attempt to foster a preventive culture, in which children and young people are encouraged to educate other members of the family or community. In some activities intended to teach risk reduction behaviour in everyday situations, children and young

people are depicted as responsible actors capable of keeping a watchful eye on their families and teaching them what to do when they are not following civil protection procedures. They are, in effect, turned into civil protection allies, charged with ensuring family safety plans are implemented correctly. Finally, we also identified a few projects in which children and young people participated as co-researchers investigating the causes and impacts of specific disasters before providing innovative solutions.

For example, in Italy, we came across two interesting examples of children and young people as co-researchers in risk reduction and recovery. The first is 'Laboratorio Emergenza' ('Emergency Lab'), a project for vocational school students aged from 14 to 18. Having analysed evacuation points in the earthquake emergency plans of 33 municipalities in the Terni province, they formulated proposals for their improvement and for conveying the municipal emergency plan to local people. The second is 'Radonmap',[15] a school project in which an online map of the Monticello Brianza municipality was created to display levels of radon gas (prevalent in that area) found in school facilities and houses. Students supervised and carried out detection and monitoring of the gas, maintained the website, and delivered an information and awareness campaign to the local population.

In Spain, a competition organised by toy company LEGO® and the NGO FIRST LEGO League is a useful example of more meaningful kinds of participation. This annual international contest is designed to foster entrepreneurism and science skills in 10- to 16-year-olds. For the FIRST LEGO League in 2013, school teams were shown how to work together in an innovative way to prevent, respond to or recover from a specific disaster. For instance, in the Basque Country, a coastal, hilly and rainy region, the teams were trained by various experts in weather forecasting, sea storm alerts and fire detection systems, along with wildfire simulation, effective disaster communication, and the role of information and communication technology (ICT) in disaster management and flood response. The teams developed specific emergency plans, new alert systems, rescue robots, awareness campaigns and many other innovative actions or infrastructures that could improve disaster management. This contest was revelatory for the civil protection officers we interviewed, demonstrating to them the importance of children and young people's participation in disaster management, and their potential for improving emergency plans, prevention strategies and recovery. As some of the practitioners we consulted agreed, this is the path civil protection should follow, with children and young people involved as actors, devising their own solutions for managing a disaster

and, even more importantly, presenting these solutions as economic and social contributions to the community.

Our Scoping Review shows that despite the growing interest in children and young people's participation in disaster management in the five countries analysed, there is still too little space for a more participatory approach. Children are still rarely considered as a group with valuable experience and knowledge that should be taken into account in disaster management and risk reduction. They are frequently included among the most 'vulnerable groups' less able to help themselves in the circumstances of an emergency, and therefore requiring external assistance. Only rarely is any attempt made to clarify why children are vulnerable or what characteristics set them apart from other vulnerable groups. As a consequence, participation, if pursued, remains within a framework of rules and goals determined by 'experts' and other adults, or adopts a rather tokenistic approach.

Indeed, in the programmes and initiatives analysed there is little recognition of children and young people's diversity. Variables such as gender, social class and ethnicity are rarely considered. Disability is included in only a few examples collected from partner countries. For instance, in Greece, the Earthquake Planning and Protection Organisation (EPPO) has produced guidelines for people with physical disabilities (aged 16–18): 'Proetoimazomai gia to seismo – Odigies gia atoma me kinitikes anapiries' ('Getting ready for an earthquake – Guidelines for people with motor disabilities'). The guidelines provided to individuals with mobility problems address barriers in relation to accessibility.

Overall, the main proxy we find to understand children's diversity is age. However, in terms of chronological age, most initiatives in partner countries are designed for children between 8 and 14 years old. Very young children are practically invisible to emergency planners and policy-makers because most actions are implemented in schools. At the other end, young people over 15 are deemed 'hard to reach' for emergency responders and not usually addressed as a specific age group. Indeed, in the EU project 'Public Empowerment Policies for Crisis Management' (PEP), researchers identified that among young people (aged 13–19) 'problems' included low levels of awareness, inaccurate perceptions and knowledge of disasters, and an inability to gauge which media stories to trust and which were rumours and misinformation. So again, we find narratives and imaginaries that need to be carefully examined as they probably underestimate children and young people's meaningful contribution to disaster management. Indeed, in most of the programmes analysed, children and young

people are seen as a homogeneous and intrinsically vulnerable group – as passive beneficiaries or recipients of care, policies or decisions. These imaginaries clearly inhibit their participation in public and political life and fail to consider this group as socially active and internally diverse. Researchers, policy-makers and practitioners must pay more attention to this evidence and work together to understand and reduce contemporary forms of adultism and ageism.

Challenges for increasing children's participation in disaster risk management in Europe

In summary, our Scoping Review reveals a growing interest in children and young people's participation in disaster management, particularly over the last decade. Among the factors explaining this shift is the influence of the UN, more recently through the Hyogo (2005) and Sendai (2015) international frameworks, alongside the impact of major disasters in the US, New Zealand and Australia, and evidence presented by important NGOs like Save the Children and Plan International from countries such as Bangladesh, Haiti, the Philippines, India, El Salvador or Indonesia. At the European level, however, there is still a significant lag behind the leading countries in this field, particularly New Zealand, Australia, the US and Japan.

We have seen that there is no clear national risk reduction strategy in the European countries analysed. A lack of child participation is also acknowledged by all representatives of civil protection and emergency planning, at all levels. There is still too little space for children and young people (only 20% of programmes) to participate in disaster management, and they are rarely considered a group with valuable experiences and knowledge that should be taken into account. Participation, if pursued, remains within a framework of rules and goals determined by experts and other adults. In this regard, the tokenistic views of most adults hinder participation and, although there is an increasing tendency to address this situation, children and young people are still underrepresented in decision-making processes.

One of the main challenges facing the countries analysed is how to achieve greater coordination between actors, particularly at the local, regional and national scale. This should involve administrations at different levels and the private sector, and most notably NGOs working in European countries, which have accumulated vast knowledge and experience in the field, although often in very different political, economic and cultural contexts (for instance, UNICEF, Save the Children, Plan International and the International Red Cross).

Another important challenge is within education, and particularly the empowerment of teachers and schools, as recommended in the Sendai Framework. Schools emerge as focal points in the community post-disaster, as well as important sites of risk reduction learning and action. But it also seems important to extend these beyond schools and formal spaces of education, incorporating children and young people as partners, and encouraging them to take a more active role in the design, development and evaluation of disaster risk education programmes, awareness campaigns and emergency plans. Similarly, it is also important to encourage intergenerational learning, the use of new media to foster communication and informal learning and give more value to the local and grounded knowledge of children and young people, their families and communities. Further research is also needed into the possibilities for employing creative methods for exploring disaster recovery, resilience and planning in the context of children and young people, some of which are explored in Chapter 5.

Related to this, it seems crucial to move from 'hearing' to 'listening' to children. More actions, programmes and plans must be established to include children's voices in decision-making processes and contribute to community-based disaster management. Importantly, what seems to inhibit the participation of children and young people in this field are what we term adult imaginaries or prejudices about childhood, for example, where children and young people are seen as a homogeneous, passive, intrinsically vulnerable group. We have found examples of the agency and importance given to the role of children and young people in disaster situations, both in some of the examples reviewed in this chapter, and especially in the scientific literature. Researchers, policy-makers and practitioners could pay more attention to this evidence and work together to understand and reduce contemporary forms of adultism and ageism. Aligned with this, our Scoping Review also shows the importance of including longitudinal, intersectional and multidisciplinary perspectives on children and young people's engagements in disaster management, particularly to pay more attention to crucial variables such as age, gender, education, disability or culture.

The lack of children's participation may be shaped by the legislative frameworks of partner countries, which generally stipulate that the population should be informed and trained, but make no mention of participation by children and young people (Delicado et al, 2017). Similarly, there is a need for more research on how this interconnection among policy levels, actors and administrative scales might encourage or constrain children and young people's voices,

actions and engagement. As well as scientific research reports, it is also important to approach children and young people's participation from the perspective of children's rights.

Finally, to promote more significant changes in children and young people's resilience-building, Europe might learn from best practices in leading countries, such as Australia, New Zealand or the US, and encourage more innovative, participatory and comprehensive research. As the literature shows, meaningful participation is central to promote and enhance the resilience of children and young people to disasters and to enable disaster responders to meet children and young people's needs, rights and ideas more effectively. Progress in this field has already proved to be central to disaster studies in general, and to disaster policy and practice.

Notes

[1] Extensive support with compiling and summarising the programmes that were reviewed for this chapter was provided by: Maggie Mort, Marion Walker and Amanda Bingley (Lancaster University, UK); Anna Grisi, Flaminia Cordani and Federico Cellini (Save the Children Italy); Laurie Gayle (Save the Children UK); Magda Nikolaraizi, Vassilios Argyropoulos and Christina Kofidou (University of Thessaly, Greece); Jussara Rowland, Ana Delicado and Susana Fonseca (University of Lisbon, Portugal).

[2] See http://wp.lancs.ac.uk/cyp-floodrecovery/publications/childrens-flood-manifestos/

[3] The inclusion criteria applied to the search was based on these principles: (1) the item had to be clearly oriented (partially or completely) to include/dialogue with education of children and/or young people in disaster or emergency management; (2) it could be in any of the countries' official languages; and (3) documents could be current or old. It is worth noting that the sample of documents collected cannot be representative of the total of programmes and actions of disaster management addressing children and young people in the partner countries. Indeed, search results can be influenced by the expertise and skills of each partner, the accessibility of documents and national civil protection procedure.

[4] A Local Resilience Forum (LRF) is a multi-agency forum formed in a police area of the UK by key emergency responders and specific supporting agencies. It is a requirement of the Civil Contingencies Act 2004.

[5] www.stopdisastersgame.org/

[6] https://mefitublog.wordpress.com/

[7] www.readyscotland.org/ready-government/education/

[8] www.hants.gov.uk/community/susiethechildminder

[9] www.youtube.com/watch?v=CatOe7cKPbk

[10] www.youtube.com/watch?v=oaGDk-k4ztQ

[11] This prize is dedicated to the memory of a young student from Pinerolo (Turin) who died some years ago after the collapse of his classroom's suspended ceiling. It is awarded to the best degree theses of students from the faculties of architecture and engineering dealing with the structural safety of school buildings.

[12] www.iononrischio.it/

[13] www.aterratreme.pt/
[14] https://vibrazioni.wordpress.com/
[15] www.radonmap.it/

2

Dialogues with Children, Mutual Learning Exercises and National Policy Debates

Anna Grisi, Flaminia Cordani, Sofia Ribeiro, Charikleia Kanari, Vassilios Argyropoulos, Miriam Arenas and Ana Delicado

Introduction

Addressing disaster risk with a young audience poses particular challenges. As seen in the previous chapter, although the *Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015–2030* (UNDRR, 2015) underlines the need to include children and young people as active participants in disaster risk reduction (DRR), governments and practitioners are often reluctant to engage young people in matters that may cause them distress or be above their perceived level of competency.

So, with a few exceptions, children and young people are virtually invisible as active, engaged participants in national and international emergency planning processes for disasters (Anderson, 2002; Deeming et al, 2011; Walker et al, 2012, Mort et al, 2018b). Studies have shown that when they are mentioned, they are positioned as vulnerable recipients of aid and consequently problematic for emergency planners (Mellor et al, 2014). Yet understanding children's perspectives has been demonstrated, by organisations such as Save the Children, to be a vital part of building resilience. The 1990 United Nations Convention on Children's Rights states that children are community members and citizens in their own right. When it comes to disasters, they have the potential to play an important role in shaping more effective responses at local and national levels (Save the Children, 2011). Most studies of hazards and disasters fail to recognise the role of children and young people as social actors, who are attuned to cultural differences in their community and possess specific knowledge of their local area, knowledge which is shaped by age, gender, ethnicity, socio-economic class, disability and educational opportunities (Peek, 2008; Wisner, 2006; Walker et al, 2012).

Putting children's perspectives into planning and practice in the disaster context, embedding these more widely across European states and regions, was consequently the focus of CUIDAR. Our premise was the need to develop and embed participatory pathways to enable children from all backgrounds and abilities to articulate their experiences, contribute ideas and shape disaster risk policies, plans and procedures with relevant agencies and adults. The exclusion of children and young people's perspectives from disaster management practice is particularly problematic given the increasing policy emphasis on building individual and community resilience for coping and responding to hazards and disasters. Building effective participatory models for young people's involvement in disaster planning and policy also opens up opportunities for their involvement across age, gender, social and cultural background and inclusion of children with disabilities and/or learning difficulties (Larkins et al, 2014).

But how can we discuss disasters with children without scaring them? How can we elicit their perspectives on safety and risk, on vulnerability and resilience, if these concepts can be unfamiliar to them? Even though many children would have experienced various forms of hardship, if not disaster, these experiences are often overlooked. How do we support them to interact with adult decision-makers on a level playing field, and avoid the risk of them being lectured to?

To address these questions, CUIDAR created a methodological three-pronged approach to be carried out in the five participating countries. Each stage fed into the next, creating a cohesive methodology, systematically evaluated, that consistently engaged children and adults in a common pursuit of co-created knowledge. Rejecting a one-size-fits-all approach, local teams had the opportunity to interpret the CUIDAR guidelines and develop their own activities. The activities had to be tailored to children and young people of different ages, from different cultures, with varying levels of direct experience with hazards and disasters. They also had to be tailored to ensure the inclusion of children and young people with special needs. The distinct cultures of adult stakeholders also had to be considered and accommodated. Our approach had to be flexible enough to address the local risks children identified, and to varied project settings such as schools, youth groups and community centres.

CUIDAR's three steps consisted of:

- *Dialogues with Children and Young People* to understand their perceptions of risk, strengthen their resilience by raising their awareness of the available resources in emergencies and empower

them to communicate their perceptions, priorities and needs before, during and after disasters to practitioners and policy-makers.
- *Mutual Learning Exercises* with children, young people, practitioners and policy-makers to raise awareness and influence local disaster management policies and plans to include the particular needs and capacities of children and young people.
- *National Policy Debates* with decision-makers to communicate the needs, priorities and capacities of children and young people before, during and after disasters and to influence policy and practice.

This chapter explains these three steps: their aims and guidelines, how they were put into practice in different locations and the evaluation strategies we followed.[1] More detailed discussion on the tools and activities involved are given in Chapter 5. For the findings achieved through these endeavours, see Chapter 3.

Dialogues with Children

These were structured around a dedicated consultation template,[2] designed by Save the Children Italy, to achieve four main objectives:

- Enhance children's awareness of their rights (including their right to participate in matters that concern them) and their knowledge of disaster risk and disaster management.
- Build children's skills to analyse and monitor the various dimensions of disaster risks – including hazard exposure, vulnerabilities, resilience and capacities – in their communities.
- Increase children's opportunities to lead and engage in DRR actions and to initiate and lead such actions in with their communities.
- Provide a space for children's voices, supporting them to contribute their DRR perspectives in their communities and advocate for their own needs and priorities.

The guidelines for the Dialogues were designed to be flexible and adaptable for each partner country context, and using the most relevant national and international resources on children's participation, DRR education and child-centred practice, some of which were identified during the Scoping Review (see Chapter 1). The Dialogues also drew inspiration from the abundant literature, toolkits and guidelines on good practice in consultation with children (Madden, 2001; Save the Children, 2003; de Rijk et al, 2005), in disaster risk management (DRM) in schools (NCEF, 2005; UNISDR, 2007; Educating NZ and

CDEM, 2009; IFC, 2010) and on the involvement of children in risk reduction and response (Benson and Bugge, 2007; Luneta and Tao, 2007; Plan International, 2010a, b; Plan International and UK Aid, 2015; Towers et al, 2015).

While adapting the guidelines for each country, partners also drew on other relevant sources. In Portugal, for instance, the *Framework for Education on Risk* (Saúde et al, 2015), the *Manual on School Safety, Users Manual, and Security and Maintenance of Schools* (ME, 2003) and the *Prevention and Emergency Plan for Schools* (Lencastre and Pimentel, 2005) were used. In Spain, the team devised the content of the Dialogues based on the *Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction* for children (Kearney, 2015), on Save the Children's (2010) *Child-Led Disaster Risk Reduction in Schools and Communities* and Plan International's Toolkit (2010a). In Greece, the team worked with children with sensory disabilities (that is, children with vision disabilities and multiple disabilities, children who were deaf and hard of hearing children who also had additional disabilities), and also with very young children. A range of theoretical principles was used in relation to the access of children with sensory disabilities and DRR (Nikolaraizi et al, 2016a; Nikolaraizi et al, under review).

We worked from the premise that children's participation should be a process rather than an event or a one-off activity. Each of the three sections included participatory games and actions to enable children to move from one stage to the next (see Chapter 5 for examples). In this way, the children would have the opportunity to develop new skills, increase their confidence and knowledge and see that their views were valued and respected. Participation is about having the opportunity to express a view, influence decision-making and achieve change. Children's participation is their informed and willing involvement, including the most marginalised and those of different ages and abilities, in any matter concerning them either directly or indirectly. CUIDAR worked to create a foundation for meaningful, ethical and safe participation for children in disaster management.

Dialogues: targets, contexts and numbers

In all countries, much attention was given to recruiting children located in areas at risk from hazards or areas that had been affected by disasters in the last decade. Save the Children Italy identified youth groups based on their existing contacts in areas of high risk or social marginalisation. In Greece, as the specific aim was to involve children with sensory disabilities, particular schools were selected on that basis. The Scoping

Review (see Chapter 1) enabled CUIDAR partners to better understand how DRR policies were implemented in their countries and the role of different organisations involved in disaster management, and helped us to identify groups to invite to join the Dialogues.

As shown below (see Figure 2.1), we worked with a total of 552 children and young people in the five countries (63 in Greece, 59 in Italy, 177 in Portugal, 85 in Spain and 168 in the UK) and all the groups were gender balanced with the exception of Italy, where participants were mainly girls. This is probably because the Italian CUIDAR Dialogues took place within informal youth groups and not school classes that are usually gender balanced. According to the 2018 Flash Eurobarometer on Youth (EC, 2018), on average in Europe boys (21%) are more likely than girls (18%) to attend youth clubs, but in Italy that trend is reversed (30% of girls and 25% of boys).

Our range of participants took into account cultural diversity and varied cultural and socio-economic contexts such as areas of both high and low levels of deprivation and social exclusion, urban, coastal and rural areas. In some sites, groups included migrant children, children from minority ethnic groups and disabled children. We took into account that while children have generally been excluded from disaster and emergency management practices and processes, there are additional factors of exclusion. When faced with mixed groups, the facilitators took great care to show respect to all children, and to figure out ways to draw in underprivileged children and affirm their thoughts and opinions. For this reason, CUIDAR staff developed partnerships with local specialised trainers and organisations that have strong relationships with children with special needs.

The Dialogues addressed a diversified set of risks prioritized by the children in the different towns and cities, ranging from 'natural' hazards (earthquakes, floods, cold waves, storms, forest fires) to more obviously human-induced risk (industrial accidents, chemical risks) (see Figure 2.2).

The three main age groups were children aged 6–11, 11–14 and 14–18, and the majority of Dialogues took place within school settings (27) and in some cases local youth groups (6). The main difference in working in these two settings derived from the differing perceptions of children's capacities and potential, and on ways to design activities depending on the participant's age. While at school, children's capacities, and views about their involvement, were shaped by expectations of their particular year group, so activities and outputs were designed and judged accordingly. Within the more informal setting of a youth group, age itself was not necessarily going to limit

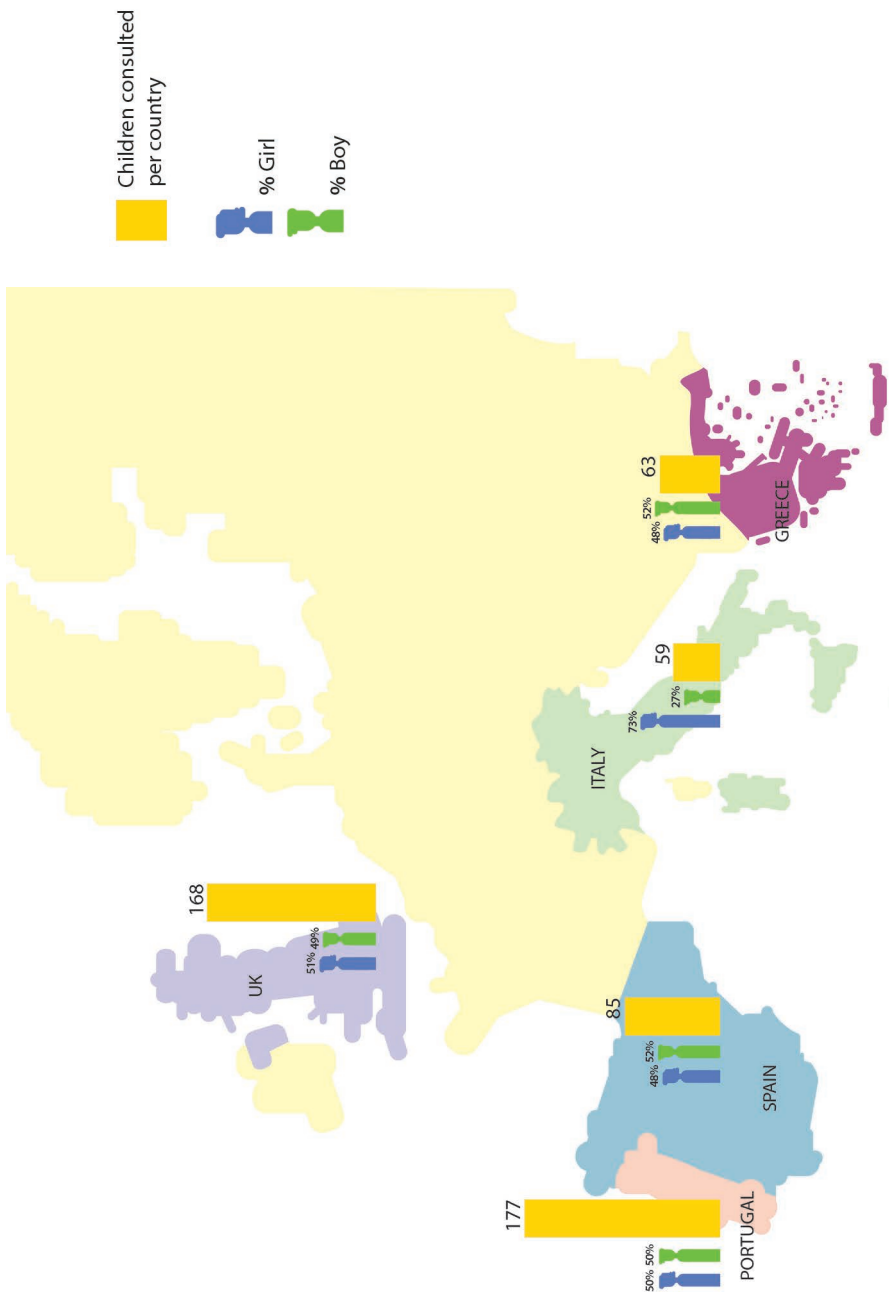


Figure 2.1: Children participating per country and gender breakdown

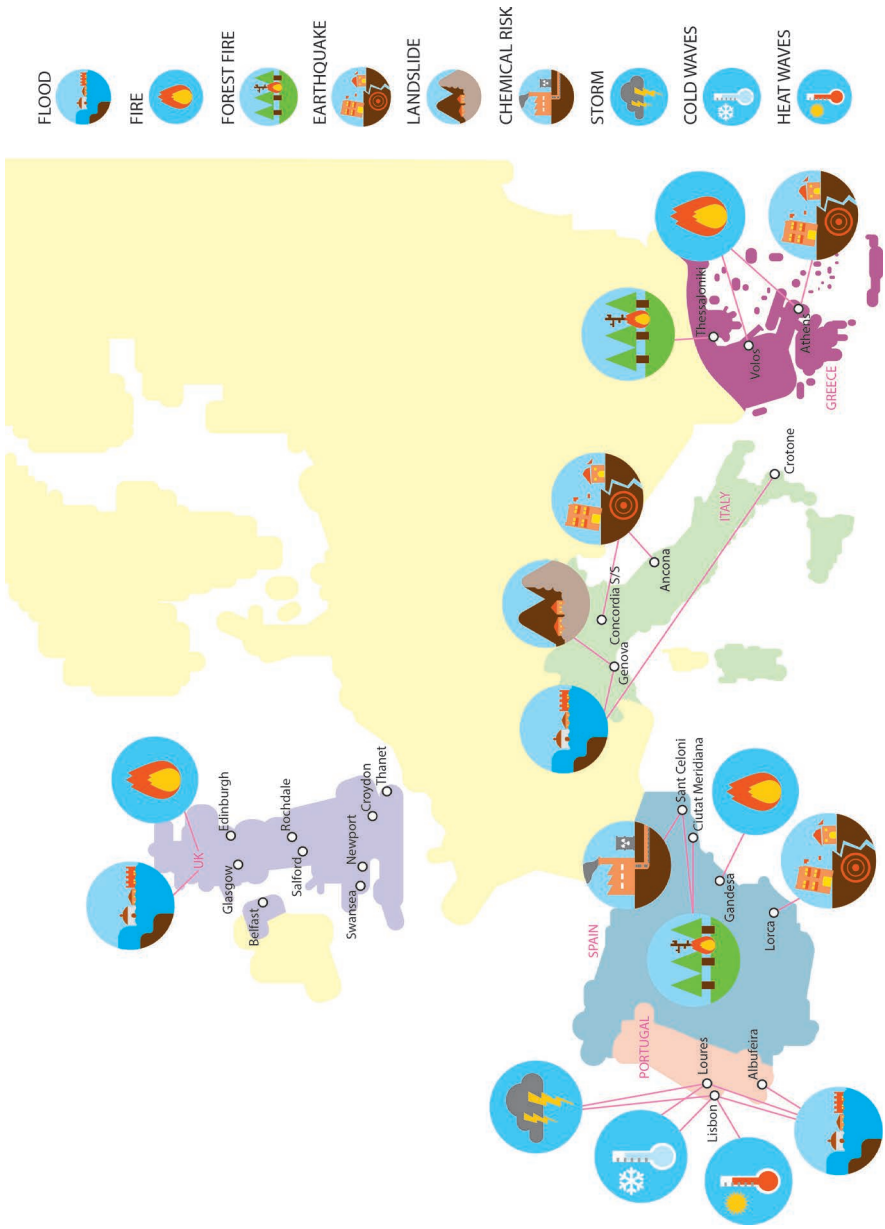


Figure 2.2: Risks prioritised by children in the different cities involved

the design of activities. Children are not a homogenous group and their age cannot be the only factor to consider in determining the involvement they should have in matters affecting them. Each child's level of competency also depends on a variety of other factors – for example, the environment or culture they were brought up in, their access to education, level of maturity, and their physical and mental wellbeing (Save the Children, 2010).

Context and target group diversity, some examples of Dialogue groups

Portugal

After conducting pilot Dialogues in Lisbon, two of the cities identified were locations where in the past, and more recently, disasters have resulted in fatalities. Loures, a town on the outskirts of Lisbon with 27,769 inhabitants, is prone to flooding. The last significant flooding event occurred in 2008, although major floods that occurred in the 1960s still echo in the memory of Loures' citizens, due to a high number of fatalities. The second city, Albufeira, is a coastal city in the Algarve with about 13,646 inhabitants, many of whom are recent migrants. However, the city doubles its population in the summer months due to tourism and holiday homes. Albufeira is prone to coastal erosion resulting in the collapse of cliffs onto beaches and flooding – events that occurred in 2009 and 2015 with several fatalities. The participating children in both cities included migrant children descended from Roma families and migrants from Bulgaria, South Africa, Cape Verde and Brazil.

UK

The Dialogues were run mainly in areas of high deprivation with high poverty rates, and with marginalised or socially excluded groups in Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland and England. For example, in Glasgow children who participated in the project were exclusively migrant children from Slovakia and Romania. Three of the nine groups participating were from areas affected by floods in the last decade, and two groups included a high percentage of children with English as a second language.

Spain

The Dialogues took place in diverse locations. Ciutat Meridiana in Barcelona gained public attention as the neighbourhood where the highest numbers of foreclosures and housing evictions in Spain have taken place. But the neighbourhood is also known for creating several community initiatives to counteract the effects of the economic crisis. Gandesa is a mostly rural community, recognised as the 'Forestry City of 2016', for hosting several initiatives to raise awareness about wildfires.

Sant Celoni is the biggest town in Baix Montseny, the second largest chemical industrial park of Catalonia. Young people, like most of the residents, are used to being involved in tests and simulations of chemical risk preparedness and prevention plans. The town has also experienced accidents, the most significant in 1996 and 2008, both relating to chlorine leaks. Finally, a strong earthquake hit Lorca (measured at 5.1 on the Richter scale) in 2011, which left nine dead and caused massive amounts of damage.

Greece

The research team used its expertise in children's accessibility and disability issues to stage the Dialogues with Children with and without disabilities. These involved children with vision disabilities, children who were deaf or hard of hearing and others who had additional disabilities. In addition, these children came from different ethnic backgrounds, and the Dialogues took place in three cities: Athens, Thessaloniki and Volos.

The Dialogues involved groups of between 5 and 30 children. Larger groups can potentially be more difficult to facilitate and to foster genuine participation. The schools and youth groups allotted varying amounts of time to the CUIDAR partners so that the Dialogues ranged between 4 to 30 hours in total.

The Dialogues were facilitated by a range of actors, depending on local partner needs. In many cases CUIDAR teams needed to play both the role of educator and facilitator: introducing ideas around DRR, building the children's capacities in DRR skills and tools, and facilitating discussions among the children to allow their opinions and perspectives to emerge clearly and freely. The 'Ethics and Safeguarding Checklist' circulated among partners along with the 'Consultation Guidelines' recommended that CUIDAR project teams who had no experience of DRR concepts and participatory methods should receive training in facilitation of groups, or trained personnel should be hired. Save the Children provided training to CUIDAR staff during one of the project meetings.

Across almost all sites in the project, a minimum of two facilitators who complemented each other in these areas of expertise, namely DRR or participatory methods, co-facilitated the Dialogues, ensuring that child protection standards were met throughout the process. Where that was not possible, CUIDAR staff co-facilitated the Dialogues alongside school teachers. Interestingly, however, some teachers we encountered were not used to participatory ways of working, preferring a teacher-centred model.

Dialogue facilitation teams: some examples

CUIDAR project staff

In some cases team members ran the Dialogues. They drew on their backgrounds in sociology, education, arts or related fields, and were experienced in working with young people, through research activities, teaching classes or facilitating workshops in informal contexts. Consistent involvement of CUIDAR teams ensured a smooth integration between the different stages of the project, keeping a strong line connecting the project, and ensuring that all feedback from children was collected. It also ensured that adaptations could be made quickly (for instance, adapting activities to the low literacy levels of some children).

Teacher facilitation or co-facilitation

In some countries, especially within the school context, Dialogues were run or co-facilitated with teachers. In Greece in particular, where the workshops involved children with sensory disabilities, qualified teachers who had expertise and knowledge regarding the learning needs of the children had a central role in the workshops (Nikolaraizi et al, under review). On the other hand, we found that where Dialogues with Children with no special needs were co-facilitated with the teachers, the children were more reluctant to give their opinions and to participate actively. In some cases, the role of the teachers was mainly a secondary role, based on setting and maintaining limits for children (for example, to quieten the class) and they generally did not get involved in the participative dynamics. Facilitation by teachers can be more effective if teachers are involved in the session planning and methodology design, and when they fully understand and agree on participative approaches, but this is sometimes difficult to achieve due to the limited time that teachers are often able to give to extra-curricular projects.

Other actors

Depending on local circumstances, other actors took part in the Dialogue provision to share their knowledge on specific topics or to facilitate specific activities with children. In some cases, 'local experts' were invited, such as older people or people with intimate knowledge of the locality. Such people helped the children gather collective memories about disasters and significant events that had happened in the city or neighbourhood. For instance, in Barcelona the team invited a social activist from the neighbourhood, who kept a register of relevant past events, and who helped the children build a chronology of weather events and other 'disasters' in that area: fires, floods, rat infestations, gales, snow, etc.

Other actors that were invited in many partner countries were civil protection authorities or staff, firefighters, rescuers, ambulance drivers and so on to talk with

children about DRR concepts or what to do in case of disasters. For instance, in Loures (Portugal) the primary school children had a visit from Pedro Vieira (see Figure 2.3), a voluntary firefighter and member of the Civil Protection Service, who discussed what to do when floods occur, how they evacuate people in hazardous areas and rescue those already affected, showing on the map the areas more prone to flooding. He also explained the roles of other civil protection actors, the importance of communication during an emergency, and how all citizens are part of civil protection.

Not-for-profit environmental organisations and community-led associations also shared their expertise about specific topics, especially when children were prioritising risks. For instance, in Glasgow (UK), the children chose to request input from Govanhill Baths (a community-led organisation) and Glasgow Housing Association Community Hub. In Greece, the children visited museums, including the Thessaloniki Science Centre and Technology Museum, the Museum of Emotions and the Museum of Fire in Athens, and engaged with museum staff, asking questions and participating in educational programmes.

The children met these actors either at school or in workplaces, contacting professionals who helped them design and build their communication tools such as graphic designers, professional storytellers, actors, video makers, etc.

Figure 2.3: Local firefighter and civil protection officer at the Dialogue in Loures, Portugal

While including such external actors in the Dialogues was very successful, it is important that they were made aware of CUIDAR's aims and approach in order to adhere to its participatory nature. In addition, experts might have found that their role in this project was demanding in terms of organisation, preparation, management and follow-up.

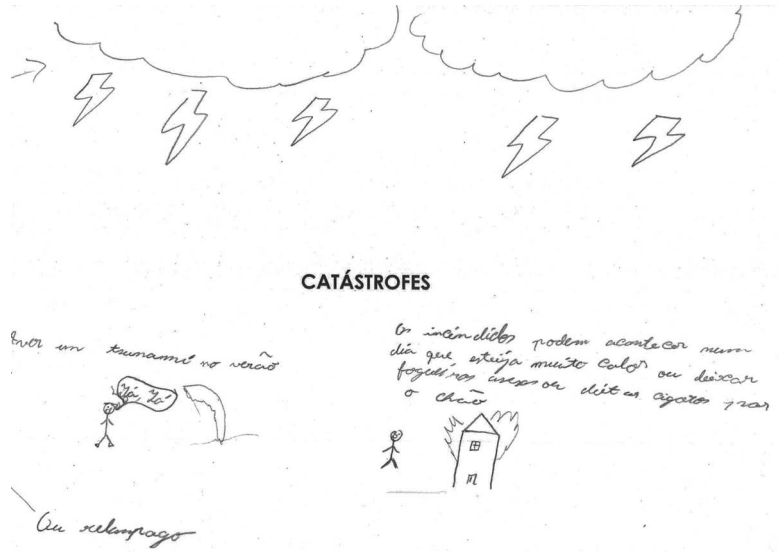
Children's co-facilitation

Children and young people make great facilitators with the right support and preparation. Their participation as facilitators should be entirely voluntary, and they should be properly briefed and prepared. Depending on how much experience and confidence they have, they can plan and run sessions themselves or simply collaborate with the team. It is important to negotiate with each young person about what they feel comfortable doing and make sure adults support them throughout the process. In Spain, during the Dialogues with the younger children, the team assigned three roles to the children in each session. Two of them were in charge of distributing the material needed for the session, another two were in charge of taking notes of the main agreements (on paper, a flipchart or the blackboard), and two more were in charge of taking photographs of the sessions with digital cameras. We had a badge for each role that we distributed at the beginning of each session. This strategy did not yield significant results, and the children often forgot their roles during the activities. However, they liked the role of photographer.

Multiple strategies were followed in evaluating the Dialogues. In Portugal, the children filled out questionnaires (the response scale contained five different 'smiley' faces), followed by two closed questions around participation issues adapted from a children's survey on children's rights and capabilities (Biggeri et al, 2011) and two open-ended questions on what they liked most and least about the Dialogue. Evaluation forms were also given to the teachers. At the start and finish of the Dialogues the children also filled in a personal meaning map (Falk and Dierking, 2000), consisting of a blank page with the word 'Disaster' at the centre, on which they were asked to express their thoughts. Before and after maps were then compared (see Figure 2.4).

In Spain, the facilitators gathered the children's expectations after the first session of the Dialogue, and at the last session the children held an evaluation to share their opinions individually (with a survey) and collectively (with a dartboard on the wall in which they attached stickers according to their opinion; see Europlanet Society, nd). These

Figure 2.4: Example of a personal meaning map (Pedro, 9 years old, Albufeira, Portugal)



tools enabled their thoughts and feelings about the Dialogues' content, organisation and group dynamics to emerge.

To record, monitor and evaluate the process in Italy, facilitators used a set of posters for each Dialogue, where they noted the main objectives, the children's expectations, and also photographs of the previous Dialogue and materials produced. At the beginning of each session, the participants walked past the photographs as a way to recap on the previous one, inform anyone who might have been absent and build up knowledge gradually. At the end of every session, the group was asked to evaluate it in writing, saying if their needs and expectations had been met and if it was necessary to make changes. Responses included: 'we have been very collaborative', 'the activities gave us the possibility to participate', 'having fun', 'we all participate', 'the group was engaged and listened', 'we influenced the community', 'free to speak', 'creativity', 'I have learned new things', 'interesting activities'. Similarly in Greece, according to each group's needs and through a range of differentiated activities (Nikolaraizi et al, under review), the children expressed their expectations, knowledge and understanding and their role in DRR. In most cases they reported that what they had learned helped them feel more confident in confronting a risk or a disaster.

Mutual Learning Exercises

The Mutual Learning Exercises (MLEs) were developed by Save the Children UK in an effort to put children's rights in DRR into practice, creating a bridge between the capacity-building activities of the Dialogues and the advocacy work done in preparing for the policy debates. The aim was to create a space for the children, emergency planners, local policy actors and the wider community to meet. This space was to foster equal participation, away from the traditional lectures or presentations in risk reduction education where children are allocated a more passive role, and are rarely heard.

CUIDAR'S MLEs[3] were devised to meet specific objectives:

- To enable practitioners and policy-makers to gain an understanding and insight into children's priorities and perceptions of risk in urban contexts and their capacities for resilience and participation, taking into account different cultures.
- To engage in more effective lines of communication between children, young people and adults and enable them to influence the local or regional disaster management strategy, empowering children to realise their right to be heard.

As with the Dialogues, since CUIDAR partners were operating in diverse cultural and political contexts, it was necessary to create guidelines flexible enough to accommodate local differences. Save the Children UK therefore referred to specific national, regional and international guidelines (such as Save the Children, 2003) as to how to best involve children in discussions about the issues that affect them and elevate their voices to influence those who hold decision-making power. Thus, the MLEs would showcase the children's ideas and skills that had emerged during the Dialogues, emphasizing their communication to specific audiences.

The first step to achieving common guidelines for the MLEs was to agree a definition:

> Mutual Learning Exercises are the way we bring together various groups of stakeholders to enable a process of collective analysis to help unlock ideas concerning a specific issue or theme, and to find realistic solutions and recommendations acceptable by all involved. (CUIDAR, 2018a: 6)

Ultimately, the MLEs were to create a safe space for children to explore and co-design solutions with adults. Importantly, therefore, the adults had to be sensitised to children's rights to participation and to the importance of listening to their voices. If this was not done, exposing children's views in such events would be not only tokenistic, it would be counterproductive. Thus, the activities were facilitated by someone with the ability to build safe and child-friendly relationships, and in spaces allowing children to be on the same level as adults.

Mutual Learning Exercises: targets, contexts and numbers

The MLEs were generally held in the localities where the Dialogues had taken place, mobilising nearly all the children and young people who had previously participated, local stakeholders and other members of the community (parents and other relatives). In each country, several MLEs were thus organised. One requirement for the fair participation of children in such exchanges is that they take place in friendly venues, enabling spaces, where children feel comfortable. As a result, and even though schools are traditionally more associated with conventional learning processes, schools ended up being the most common MLE locations, as they felt familiar to the children. In Spain and Portugal, however, out-of-school locations were deliberately chosen to give the children a different experience, away from a context where they have a subordinate role. Care was taken that these alternative locations were child-friendly and had some public profile, such as municipal libraries and museums. This helped the children and young people feel they were doing something relevant and important in a civic space. It changed their attitude, and in some cases their teachers expressed surprise that their students appeared much more engaged and mature than at school. Except for the younger children, who had their MLE at the fire service's educational facilities, the other events in Spain were organised in key cultural buildings made available by the city council. Children and young people were especially interested in these out-of-school locations. For instance, in Barcelona, the children wrote in their photo-call messages (see below) that they liked everything, especially visiting the Catalan Fire and Rescue Service, and that they wanted to return to the Fire Prevention Room (see Figure 2.5).

The MLEs were mainly led by children and young people, with the co-facilitation of a CUIDAR team member, since in some cases this made the children feel more comfortable. In Greece there were additional needs in making sure that the events were accessible for all

Figure 2.5: Children's photo-call in Barcelona, Spain

students with sensory disabilities. Given that these were conceived as bottom-up, child-led events (adults were called to intervene only when an explanation or occasional support was needed), stakeholder identification and invitation was generally done during the Dialogues, where the children were encouraged to assess who/which were the influential powers within their community and to lead the invitations. Invitations led by children were especially helpful in getting the adult stakeholders to confirm their presence, particularly for those in high-ranking positions, since it is more uncomfortable for them to defraud the expectations of children.

Overall, there were 22 MLEs in the participating countries, involving approximately 300 children and 150 stakeholders comprising:

- Policy-makers: council members, town mayors, local members of parliament, regional ombudsman.
- Practitioners: civil protection staff, resilience officers, emergency planners, local Red Cross groups/representatives, psychologists, police officers, fire department staff, journalists, other technical staff (that is, firefighters, forestry specialists, park rangers, etc).
- Educators: teachers and head teachers, Department of Education staff, members of parents' associations.
- Community members: parents, local or community group representatives, and other students (who had not taken part in CUIDAR Dialogues).

The types of hazard or disaster chosen by children for discussion often matched local concerns, either derived from previous disaster events or from significant risk perceptions (see Table 2.1).

In some cases, besides addressing a specific kind of disaster risk, other topics were added to the discussion, such as the management of fear and anxiety (Athens, Sant Celoni, Lorca), children's rights and opinions (Athens), and communication strategies for children (Gandesa, Lorca, Salford, Rochdale).

Different strategies were followed for evaluation. For example, in Spain, the adults, children and young people were given time at the end to share their thoughts and feelings about their experience. In Sant Celoni, the adults and young people were separated and, supported by the facilitators, made their evaluations of the MLE through small group discussions. Then, coming back together,

Table 2.1: Locations and types of disaster addressed in MLEs

Countries	Locations	Flooding	Fire	Earthquakes	Landslides	Industrial accidents	Emergencies in general
Greece	Athens		X				
	Athens		X	X			
	Volos		X				
	Thessaloniki		X			X	
Italy	Ancona			X			
	Crotone	X					
	Genoa	X			X		
	Concordia			X			
Spain	Barcelona		X				
	Gandesa		X				
	Sant Celoni					X	
	Lorca			X			
Portugal	Albufeira	X					
	Loures	X					
UK	Belfast						X
	Edinburgh	X					
	Glasgow		X				
	Swansea		X				
	Croydon	X					
	Thanet						X
	Salford	X					
	Rochdale	X					X

everyone voluntarily shared their thoughts. In the other locations, the children and adults used post-it notes at the end of the event to write down their thoughts on what they had learned, pasting them onto a wall. In all Spanish locations, the children and young people also had a 'photo-call activity' while having lunch: they wrote down any kind of message related to the activity, disguised themselves and took photographs (see Figure 2.6).

In Glasgow, UK, facilitators conducted a post-event survey of adult stakeholders. In Loures and Albufeira, Portugal, the team created an online survey (mostly open questions) targeted at teachers, adult stakeholders and 9th grade participants (aged 13–14), and performed focus group evaluations with the 4th grade children (aged 9–10). In Loures the team also had a post-event discussion with three participants from the 9th grade (aged 13–14) (the others were unable to participate), and a few months later, the team interviewed the head teacher in order to assess how far the recommendations made by the young people had been implemented.

In Italy, youth groups in both Crotone and Ancona created a 'pledge form' to put into the attendees' folder given out at the beginning of the event. In these forms, stakeholders were asked to record how they would go about involving children in their everyday work, and the concrete steps they would take to make this happen. In Crotone, the young people decided to take a picture of the attendees holding up their pledges in front of the CUIDAR banner. In Ancona the youth

Figure 2.6: Young people in Lorca, Spain, writing post-it notes during the MLE

group decided to have a poster/wall where stakeholders could leave their thoughts and reflections, but also their pledges. At the end of the MLE in both locations attendees filled in an evaluation form prepared by the young people along with CUIDAR facilitators. It asked three simple questions: Had the exercise been useful? Had the exercise promoted the participation of all attendees? Had the exercise been interesting? At the end of the evaluation form, there was space for some free text comments.

National Policy Debates

The National Policy Debates were designed to communicate the needs, priorities and capacities of children and young people in disasters and to influence policy and practice. As the Scoping Review described in Chapter 1 revealed, the lack of political support, institutional fragmentation, inadequate curricular implementation strategies and insufficient awareness of children's rights constitute serious barriers to child-centred DRR in the countries analysed. Hence, the CUIDAR Policy Debates[4] should constitute both a moment of communication of children's perspectives and sensitisation regarding the importance of increasing children and young people's participation in policy development nationally. This was done by organising a key event with national policy-makers, comprising of several exchanges between children, young people and adults and between stakeholders from different sectors. Results from the Dialogues and the MLEs were showcased and discussed. This cross-fertilising dynamic favoured the exchange of ideas concerning the ideal forms of including children and young people's needs, priorities and capacities in disaster management.

The Open University of Catalonia created a set of broad and flexible guidelines for all partners, assuming the high-level Policy Debate as a step in a long-term process of awareness building, where policy-makers and mass media were gradually engaged before, during and after the event. The outputs and evidence, gathered during the Dialogues and MLEs, were integrated into the Policy Debates agendas, in order to maximise their visibility and attract policy-makers and practitioners to participate. The Debates were therefore child-friendly, and when possible, co-designed with the participating children.

A key part of the Debates was a sensitising activity to provide an opportunity to present the children's and young people's previous work to adult stakeholders (see Chapter 3). The events were structured around two goals (see Table 2.3): inspiring and engaging. Inspiring the adult participants was achieved through identifying best practice regarding

children's participation from fields other than DRR, to show how children can be successfully heard. Engagement was achieved by including a moment of active participation of all attendees, such as roundtable topic discussions, culminating in collective assessments of the proceedings.

Targets, contexts and numbers

The five Policy Debates took place in 2017, in Athens (Greece), Rome (Italy), Lisbon (Portugal), Barcelona (Spain) and Manchester (UK) (see Table 2.2). The adult participants ranged from representatives of civil protection and emergency responders to local, regional and national policy decision-makers. Most of these were representatives from the areas of civil protection, emergencies, risk, resilience and security, from local, regional and/or national level. There were high levels of attendance from organisations devoted to risk reduction education (environmental agencies, associations and NGOs, etc) and of educational practitioners and social services officers. This wide audience resulted from a targeted 'invitology' (understood as the strategy to decide in every national context who should be invited to

Table 2.2: National Policy Debates: location, duration and participation

Country	Date and venue	Title	Children and young people	Adult stakeholders
Greece	1 June 2017, Earthquake Planning and Protection Organisation (EPPO), Athens	*Children's Roles in Risk Reduction and Disaster Management*	–	15
Italy	10 November 2017, Palazzo Chigi, Rome	*Children and Emergencies in Italy*	30	33
Portugal	31 May 2017, Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa, Lisbon	*Children and Young People's Participation in Disasters Risk Reduction*	21	39
Spain	19 October 2017, CaixaFòrum, Barcelona	*How to Promote Children's and Young People's Resilience? Participation and Disaster Management*	73	30
UK	13 October 2017, Etihad Stadium, Manchester	*Take Care: Building Children's Resilience in Emergencies*	23	50
Total			147	167

achieve the main goal of the event – to sensitise a high-level audience and affect policy development in this area – and how to reach them) and careful communication, with some partners designing specific flyers and posters to advertise the events.

The *sensitisation* aspect of the event was accomplished mostly through this active presence of children presenting their ideas and experiences with their participation in the previous steps of the project. In the case of Greece, where children were not present (due to the fact that some were as young as six years old and others had complex needs), their messages and needs were communicated by the CUIDAR team and their teachers with the support of presentations including their drawings and other forms of expression (see Figure 2.7).

It was not possible to include all the children who took part in the Dialogues and MLEs: some were too young to withstand a whole day event or to travel across the country unaccompanied by their parents, and some groups were large, so they selected 'ambassadors'.

Each Policy Debate reflected both cultural contexts and the wishes of the children and young people involved who had at least one preparatory session to plan the event and decide what they wanted to present there. It was also important to include a dedicated leisure activity before or during the event. For instance, the children enjoyed a visit to Manchester City Football Club stadium (in the UK), and the official residence of the Prime Minister of the Italian Republic in Rome.

Figure 2.7: Models built by children in Thessaloniki, Greece

To stress the power of children's participation, almost all events drew on examples of best practice in this field (see Table 2.3). Members of local civil protection services and emergency organisations shared their experiences in disaster management, whereas NGOs presented their activities in advocating for children's rights. In Italy, Portugal and the UK the children and young people engaged directly with stakeholders. In Spain, since the children could not stay during the whole event, they only participated as presenters, showcasing their work in the Dialogues and MLEs. Methodologies employed during the Debates ranged from hands-on workshops to 'world cafes' or discussion roundtables around predefined topics (see Table 2.3).

Table 2.3: Inspiring and engaging moments in the National Policy Debates

Greece	**Inspiring:** During the first session, members of the University of Thessaly and special education teachers from the participating schools presented to the invited policy-makers and professionals the background of the CUIDAR project, described the workshops that took place, and underlined the role of children with sensory disabilities. They inspired them to reflect about their own contribution for the enhancement of children's participation in activities related to DRR.
	Engaging: Four interdisciplinary working groups, which consisted of the members of the research team of the University of Thessaly and invited professionals and policy-makers (Greek Ministry of Education, Research and Religion Affairs, General Secretariat for Civil Protection, National Emergency Centre, National Centre for Public Administration and Local Government, Fire Service, Earthquake Planning and Protection Organisation (EPPO), Greek Ombudsman, Independent Authority and museum directors) shared their experiences and ideas regarding the role that they can play to enhance children's roles and participation in policy-making and planning of programmes and activities related to DRR, with a special emphasis on disabled children. The members of all teams presented these ideas in a plenary discussion.
Italy	**Inspiring:** The Italian National Policy Debate took place at the Sala Monumentale of Palazzo Chigi, the official Rome residence of the Prime Minister of the Italian Republic (the first part of the event), and later at Con I Bambini Foundation, the head office of an Italian social enterprise dedicated to combating children's educational poverty. The children were very motivated to participate in such an important venue, feeling that their views would be taken seriously since they had the chance to express them not at school but in Rome, and within a government building. The event was titled 'Children and Emergencies in Italy' and was conceived as a debate among different actors about the roles and responsibilities of Italian administrations in protecting and promoting children's participation before, during and after emergencies. In the morning session, adult stakeholders, such as the National Civil Protection Director of Operations, the Lazio Region civil protection director, the delegate of the National Municipality Association (ANCI), the Marche Region civil protection official, two mayors and the Marche Region Children Rights Ombudsman discussed the inclusion of children in emergency planning, followed by children's presentations from their workshop findings.

(continued)

Table 2.3: Inspiring and engaging moments in the National Policy Debates (continued)

Italy (contd)	**Engaging:** During the afternoon session, a workshop between the children and adults was designed to actively engage the policy-makers, experts, practitioners and parents invited to the national event to build a Manifesto/Children's Charter. The adults invited were some of the stakeholders of the morning event, in particular the policy-makers and adults who had no experience in children's participation. 'The Jigsaw' (de Rijk et al, 2005) was conducted, a cooperative learning methodology developed in the US during the 1960s. This emphasises structuring interactions between heterogeneous groups of students; each is assigned part of a task to prepare. As in a jigsaw puzzle, the work done by each group is essential for the full understanding and completion of the final product. The participants were divided in five groups of 9 or 10 people, and each person was given a piece of paper with a statement. Each group had the same statements, so participants could discuss the same issues among a group of adult 'experts', children, policy-makers, parents and other stakeholders. Each group had to discuss the statements and prepare for a plenary presentation. While each group presented their work, the full picture started to take shape, as in a jigsaw. This is a highly structured and interdependent learning situation, since the only access that each member has to the full picture depends on listening to others.
Portugal	**Inspiring:** The event started with two panels of presentations, the first addressing risk reduction education projects from local Civil Protection Offices, the second participatory initiatives with children and young people developed by NGOs in Portugal.
	Engaging: In the afternoon, young people and invited adult stakeholders sat at five discussion tables, adapting the 'world cafe' model (Carson, 2011) to discuss specific issues about advancing children and young people's participation, addressing topics that emerged from the discussions and the pledges generated through the Dialogues and the MLEs: (1) participatory risk education; (2) children and young people as active participants in disaster management in their communities; and (3) children and young people as active participants in disaster management in their schools. At the end of the discussions, there was a general presentation of the results achieved from each table.
Spain	**Inspiring:** The keynote speech by Alice Fothergill, a leading researcher on children's role in disasters from the US.
	Engaging: One roundtable of three experts debating on how to increase participatory practices with children and young people in DRR in Spain. It was situated as an attempt to find an answer to the gaps identified by the CUIDAR project in the Scoping Review (see Chapter 1), namely, the absence of collaboration or shared knowledge between experts and practitioners in the fields of childhood and youth participation and civil protection. The roundtable was moderated by a journalist with specialist expertise in emergencies who had participated in the MLE in Lorca. The experts were the Deputy Director of Emergency Coordination and Management of the General Directorate of Civil Protection of the Generalitat of Catalonia, an expert in children and young people's rights, and the delegate of the Spanish Forum for Urban Prevention and Safety.

(continued)

Table 2.3: Inspiring and engaging moments in the National Policy Debates (continued)

UK	**Inspiring:** Two children began the event, speaking about their involvement in CUIDAR, what this meant to them and what they had learned. They were welcomed by Tom Rahilly, Director of UK Programmes at Save the Children. Later, after the children had left, a panel discussed the benefits and barriers to more effective child participation in planning, response and recovery, with the Chief Resilience Officer for Greater Manchester, the Director of Prevention and Protection, Greater Manchester Fire and Rescue Service, the National Flood & Coastal Risk Manager, Environment Agency and a school deputy head teacher.
	Engaging: Children and adults worked jointly on two workshops: (1) child-friendly information about preparing for winter risks and (2) development of child-friendly spaces. After an introduction from Save the Children about their approach to child-friendly spaces, they presented drawings created by the children on their idea of a child-friendly space and brought different items that they thought would make the space welcoming to children (blankets, toys etc). The two topics were worked on in small groups, each with two or three adults and two or three children. In the child-friendly spaces workshops, a body shape was drawn around a child and the children added their ideas for what would make a space child-friendly, that is, head: learning toys or ideas; ears: what adults could ask children to help them feel supported (they said 'ask how we feel'). Heart: emotional support; arms and legs: physical activities and toys and games … etc. The children shared their ideas with everyone in that workshop on child-friendly spaces, before both groups re-joined the full meeting and shared key points on developing child-friendly information and spaces.

All teams designed mechanisms for evaluating the impacts of the National Policy Debates. In Greece the adult participants were asked about their expectations just before the event, via a short semi-structured interview, repeated afterwards. In the UK delegates were asked to fill in a survey beforehand and after the event. In Portugal and Spain, the teams sent an online survey to the participants instead. In Portugal, the UK and Spain, the children and young people were included in post-event evaluation, either through online surveys or through visits by the team to schools. In Italy, UndeRadio StC Italy children's radio interviewed the morning session participants. CUIDAR staff and the children also had informal conversations with the stakeholders in the morning event venue, to capture their feedback and ideas about the Policy Debate.

Conclusion

Our approach was carefully designed to give a voice to children, to ensure their participation, and to make their perspectives known to

adults. Working in stages, we built layer upon layer of opportunities for children to discover, research and engage with the topics of disaster, vulnerability and resilience, to explore the risks their own communities face, to create knowledge in articulation with experts and practitioners and to convey their needs and perspectives to decision-makers. We moved gradually from the local to the national level.

Working in different countries and different communities within countries has taught us that following common guidelines is important for transparency and ethical practice, but also that adaptations often have to be made. Researchers (and practitioners) have to navigate diverse legal and regulatory frameworks (see Chapter 1), adjust to the rules of specific settings (schools, youth groups) and make alliances with diverse gatekeepers (teachers, school directors, civil protection services, local authorities).

Throughout, we have learned that to be successful, the whole process needs to be as flexible and responsive as possible, and highly sensitive to age and contextual differences. This may require adding extra sessions with children to prepare, evaluate, design, and so on, or to change the initial planning. We have been constantly aware that children are not a homogeneous group. Even when working with the same age groups, there are differences that have to be taken into account: gender, social class, language, cultural background, literacy level, disabilities. Activities have to be adjusted to be inclusive, to draw contributions from all children and young people, to build on different strengths and abilities.

The same goes for working with adult stakeholders. Although it is invaluable to involve practitioners and decision-makers in the activities with children and young people, their different roles have to be acknowledged and mobilised at appropriate times and places. It is also important to devote time to preparing adults for working with children, especially to challenge 'adultist' imaginaries and to adjust their expectations and attitudes before they meet and engage with children.

Finally, evaluation is crucial. Not just to assess the success in reaching the objectives that have been set, but also to fine-tune practices and procedures, to innovate and to improve. It is not enough to conclude that participants, young and old, are happy and content with the activities. It is also necessary to assess if they learned something from the experience, and in what ways they are willing to change their attitudes and practices regarding DRR.

Notes

1 This chapter draws from the deliverables of the CUIDAR project, namely, the final reports of Work Package Reports 3, 4 and 5: www.lancaster.ac.uk/cuidar/en/

2 This template and guidelines for the Dialogues with Children can be found in Work Package Report D.3.2: www.lancaster.ac.uk/cuidar/en/project-outputs/

3 More details about the design of the MLEs can be found in Work Package Report D4.2 at: www.lancaster.ac.uk/cuidar/en/project-outputs/

4 More details about the design of the Policy Debates can be found in Work Package Report D5.3: www.lancaster.ac.uk/cuidar/en/project-outputs/

3

Rights, information, needs and active involvement in disaster risk management

Ana Delicado, Miriam Arenas, Magda Nikolaraizi, Charikleia Kanari, Anna Grisi, Flaminia Cordani and Stefanie Keir

> 'We are children and we have power.' (Leonidas, 12 years old, hard of hearing, Thessaloniki, Greece)[1]

Introduction

Following exploration of our stepped approach in Chapter 2, here we detail how the roles children and young people can play in disaster risk management (DRM) started to become visible. What we learned from CUIDAR is useful not just for advancing knowledge about children's agency, but also to provide practitioners with guidance on how to work with children, which outcomes to expect, and the advantages and challenges encountered along the way. This chapter draws on the Dialogues, Mutual Learning Exercises (MLEs) and National Policy Debates conducted in the five participating countries. It blurs the boundaries between different stages of the project to focus on transversal outcomes and lessons learned through continued work with children and adult stakeholders.

We begin by assessing the lay of the land with regard to children's rights and participation in DRM, and how this was changed through the CUIDAR experience. Then we discuss how children appropriated the concept of disaster differently from standard definitions or as used by adult stakeholders, and the interplay between causes and impacts of disaster, by drawing from their own experiences and perceptions. Following this we highlight the importance placed both by children and adults to access reliable, accurate and useful information on DRM as well as strategies and means to convey that information to others. Finally, we address the imperative of considering children's

needs while preparing for and responding to an emergency, as well as challenges in directly involving children in disaster risk reduction (DRR) actions.

Rights and participation of children in disaster risk management

We realised early on that both child and adult stakeholders were mostly unaware of children's rights to participation. Many had never heard of the UN *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (UNCRC), let alone Article 12, which confers on them the right to have their voices heard in matters that concern them. Despite many years of participatory initiatives and citizen involvement in contemporary societies, and the best efforts of organisations such as UNICEF with programmes such as 'Child-Friendly Cities' (Malone, 2006), European educational systems, communities and families still largely disregard children's citizenship rights. Children and young people are still to be educated and protected, rather than listened to and integrated into decision-making. Thus, CUIDAR activities were first aimed at raising awareness of children's participation rights. With children this was achieved through the Dialogues, by generating discussions and tasks around the theme, but also by having them experience participatory methods and take the lead in making decisions about the work to be done.

These early discussions proved to be pivotal. In many cases the children demanded that the issue of their rights to participate be an integral part of the project process, such as the planned interactions with adults, the MLEs and the Policy Debates. DRM may have been the starting point but also then became part of the realisation of children's citizenship in the wider sense. For instance, the children in Gandesa (Spain) prepared a message for the MLE that began: 'We have the right to be informed and to give our opinion….' While preparing child-led communication plans at the final stage of the Dialogues, among the key messages highlighted by the children and young people was the importance of participation. In many cases, the children wanted to include rights in their key messages, for example, 'young people participate', 'young people can help', acknowledging that asking questions and expressing their feelings is an important part of interaction with adult decision-makers.

Working on rights with disabled children: a case study from Greece

Disabled children in Greece found it empowering to discover their rights to participate in matters that affect them. Lack of awareness about these rights, especially for children with vision impairment who may have multiple disabilities, children who were deaf or hard of hearing and who may have additional disabilities is associated with the barriers and daily difficulties they face in accessing relevant resources, information, programmes and their limited opportunities to obtain information and experience spontaneously (Nikolaraizi et al, 2016b; Nikolaraizi et al, under review). To overcome such barriers, the children were encouraged to participate and express their views and ideas using accessible and participatory tools (see Chapter 4). Working with a group of 10- to 12-year-olds with vision disabilities and multiple disabilities, CUIDAR staff created two bags, 'Rights' and 'Duties', with tabs written in Braille to stimulate a debate. Working with this they created a 3D 'Tree of Rights', writing one or more rights they considered important on cards and sticking them on the tree: 'I have the right to be informed' (George, 10 years old, with a vision disability, Athens) and 'I have the right to have a role to inform and prevent' (Helen, 12 years old, with a vision disability and multiple disabilities, Athens).

Deaf and hard of hearing children expressed ideas mainly about the particular needs and rights essential for their lives, such as 'equality', 'peace', 'education' and 'health'. They spoke of basic needs such as food, shelter and clothes, but also 'safety', 'family' and 'play'. They were clear that teachers and parents should inform children of their rights. They stressed the importance of children knowing their rights so they could express and protect themselves, share their knowledge with friends and help others to be safe:

> 'Parents should talk to their children about their rights and ... teachers, also.' (Nick, 12 years old who is deaf and hard of hearing, Athens)

In Athens, when these children invited representatives from the local fire service to their Dialogue, they discussed the importance of taking the needs of disabled children into account (Nikolaraizi et al, 2016b; Nikolaraizi et al, under review).

Adult stakeholders also needed to be made aware of children's rights. Despite the best intentions of the *Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015–2030* (UNDRR, 2015), with which most adults from the practitioner community were familiar, children were still mostly

seen as passive recipients of risk reduction education, at best as vehicles through which to deliver predetermined risk messages to families. Some adult stakeholders had very little or no experience in working with children in any other capacity than as potential victims or as a vulnerable group in need of rescue in case of disaster. Therefore, the prior sensitisation of emergency planners, civil protection staff and other adult stakeholders who would come into close contact with the children through CUIDAR events was critical. According to the *Child-Centred Disaster Risk Reduction Toolkit* (Plan International, 2010a), sensitisation helps to ensure a better, mutual understanding between all parties. Sensitisation can also help pave the way to better collaboration more generally, demonstrating by co-creation of interventions how to work towards mutually understood solutions.

Initially, our version of sensitisation was quite one-sided; we needed to ensure adults were well-versed in children's rights and their particular needs to ensure they could effectively engage with young people during CUIDAR activities and events. However, we learned how important it was for the children themselves to gain an insight into the adult stakeholders' perspectives, and how to utilise this insight effectively. In that sense, we found it was important that children took a role in the sensitisation of the adults as this led to better outcomes, creating a two-way exchange and not merely something that was imposed on adult stakeholders. We sought to define the process of sensitisation of adults within three broad pillars: preparation, expectation setting and roles and responsibilities.

Sensitisation: a case study from Spain

CUIDAR's Spanish team held specific preparatory sessions for adult stakeholders in Barcelona, Gandesa, Sant Celoni and Lorca. The stakeholders included firefighters (working in both urban and rural areas), a forest engineer, press officers/journalists specialising in emergencies, an expert in technology development for emergencies, a local historian, civil protection practitioners, rangers, forest school teachers, emergency psychologists, chemical industry health and safety managers and local educational services professionals.

After first contact and sharing basic information about the project (preliminary outputs of the Dialogues and the objectives of the MLEs), all adult stakeholders were invited to a joint preparatory meeting in each location (where some adult stakeholders could not attend, individual meetings were held). There they received information about all the previous stages of the project, the final MLE

programme, the specific topics to be discussed and what was expected from them. The relevance of Article 12 of the UNCRC and the role ascribed to them as adult stakeholders in the CUIDAR project was highlighted. They learned that the MLE was co-organised with children and that adults should avoid giving talks or speeches, but instead support the children during the event and engage in dialogue with them. During the meetings, stakeholders' reactions to this were diverse. Those who lacked experience with children were more 'frightened' and felt unprepared for such interaction, so they found these meetings reassuring in helping them to understand their role and our expectations for the MLE. Those who had more experience working with children were perhaps less worried about it, but the meetings also helped them understand the kind of interaction we sought. In this sense, they found our proposal positive and inspiring, since they were more used to talking to children than listening to them.

To help adult stakeholders focus on what was expected and to keep children and young people at the centre, adults were given three basic preparatory tasks for the MLE:

1. Think about how you can present yourself and your job in a child-friendly manner.
2. Think about the suggestions your children and young person's group has made in your area of expertise (or the questions they have prepared for you).
3. Think about any questions you would like to ask children and young people that may be useful for your work.

The team emphasised that all adults should make an effort to let the children and young people take the lead during the event. However, adult stakeholders should also have the chance to ask questions so they can experience the benefits of working directly with children and young people, to take their opinions into account, in order to improve their participatory skills and ultimately, to make their work more effective.

This preparation helped the adult stakeholders feel more comfortable, and enabled CUIDAR facilitation of the Dialogues' interactions. We had information from both sides, so we could propose or suggest to either (children and adults) to pose a question that we knew could be relevant for the children and that each specific stakeholder could answer.

However, some adults were unable to find time to participate in the preparatory meetings (even individually). Interestingly, it was noted that they were then less able to act in a participative manner in the MLE plenaries. They appeared to feel more insecure, and were more prone to long interventions and monologues, rather than actively listening and/or engaging in child-friendly ways. There

were also instances where 'unsensitised' adults corrected and/or completed the children and young people's statements when they felt they were wrong or inaccurate.

Through this we saw how preparatory sessions were key to reshaping adult stakeholders' conventional roles as 'instructors' towards a more egalitarian and dialogical relationship with children and young people. This is a proof of concept that sensitisation directly leads to better outcomes for mutual learning *with* children and young people.

Ideally, then, adult stakeholders would attend such sensitisation sessions, but where they could not, workarounds had to be found. For example, city councillors agreed to participate but could only offer limited time. In these cases, CUIDAR team members had short meetings with them or communicated with them via phone and email, to briefly explain the project and the concept of mutual learning. In these cases, facilitators did not ask these stakeholders to participate in the small group discussions, but only to make a short welcoming or closing speech, while having the opportunity to be present and listen to the children and young people and ask questions in the final plenary. In all cases, they stayed during only part of the MLE and fulfilled these expectations. This was a compromise we felt was ultimately worth making for the project, but it was not ideal.

Interestingly, we noticed there was a 'performative' effect of these events: for stakeholders, watching and listening first hand to the children and young people participating and presenting their ideas and in a format where children had the lead and where the adults' role was to support them created a new dynamic. It was not only what children said that was effective, but also how they expressed themselves among adults.

Thus, adult stakeholders were led to recognise three key points:

- Children and young people's participation is a right to be fulfilled: it is recognised by the UNCRC and states that they have the right to participate and contribute to issues, policies and discussions that affect their lives.
- Children and young people's participation is possible: our work shows that participation is feasible, practicable and rewarding for the children, young people and adults involved.
- Children and young people's participation is not only possible but also instrumental for DRM: evidence gathered shows that children can make valuable contributions – since they have clever

and innovative ideas and suggestions for disaster management, they envisage unanticipated needs, tools and improvements.

Below we give examples of how these interactions influenced adult stakeholders' knowledge, understanding and support for children's rights.

At the National Policy Debate in Italy, experts, practitioners, policy-makers and families wrote a CUIDAR Manifesto/Children's Charter along with the participating youth groups. This stated that children and young people have the right to participate in all phases of DRM, with special attention to reconstruction actions. The Manifesto also demanded that the UNCRC be posted on the walls in schools and disseminated in places where students gather and socialise.

At the Belfast MLE, the British Red Cross representative said he would take the CUIDAR approach to engage and equip young people in his organisation as a model of effective practice, and requested a copy of the session plans used for the Dialogues. In Edinburgh, the policy officer for community resilience with the Scottish Government attended the Policy Debate and then shared the CUIDAR outcomes with community resilience officers within all Scottish local authorities, uploading these to an internal information hub. Our work also helped shape YouthLink Scotland's Toolkit to enable youth workers to build resilience among young people. In Greece, after the National Policy Debate, the representative from the Civil Protection Ministry of Interior and Administrative Reconstruction representative stated:

> 'It was a chance to acquire knowledge, share experiences with other stakeholders and on our responsibilities for the rights and needs of children with disabilities.'

Children reported feeling empowered from organising and leading the MLEs and Policy Debates, and found they were able to interact with adults as peers, discussing topics they, too, were experts in, and searching for solutions towards common objectives. Across the five participating countries and multiple locations, the children and young people told us their awareness of their own power and rights was heightened, and that they had increased confidence to participate effectively in decision-making processes.

> 'I enjoyed this activity [Manifesto workshop] because the adults involved were very direct talking to us; they did

> not treat us just as children, but also as experts.' (Michela, 16 years old, Ancona, Italy)

Children's concepts and experiences of disaster

As we explored in the Introduction, the concept of disasters is much debated both in the academic, and, to some extent, practice literature. Dichotomies such as natural or technological, traditional or new, 'acts of God' or human-induced, sudden or slow, event or process, are now increasingly challenged and contested. The geographer and development studies scholar Piers Blaikie's early intervention offered a strong challenge to conventional thinking:

> Disasters, especially those that are connected in the minds of the public with [sic] natural disasters, are not the greatest threat to humanity. Despite the lethal reputation of earthquakes, epidemics, and famines, many more of the world's population have their lives shortened by unnoticed events, illnesses, and hunger that pass for normal existence in many parts of the world, especially (but not only) the Third World [sic]. Occasionally earthquakes kill hundreds of thousands, and very occasionally floods kill millions at a time. But to focus on these … is to ignore the many millions more who are not killed in such events. There is a daily and unexceptional tragedy of those whose deaths are through "natural" causes. Under different economic and political circumstances they should have lived longer and enjoyed a better quality of life. (Blaikie et al, 1994: 3)

Yet 'disaster' remains highly codified in policy and practitioner documentation. For instance, the UN International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (UNISDR) defined disaster as 'a serious disruption, causing widespread human, material, economic or environmental losses which exceed the ability of the affected community or society to cope using its own resources' (2005: 17). The subsequent *Hyogo Framework for Action 2005–2015* defined hazard as:

> A potentially damaging physical event, phenomenon or human activity that may cause the loss of life or injury, property damage, social and economic disruption or environmental degradation. Hazards can include latent conditions that may represent future threats and can have different origins:

> natural (geological, hydrometeorological and biological) or induced by human processes (environmental degradation and technological hazards). (UNISDR, 2005: 1)

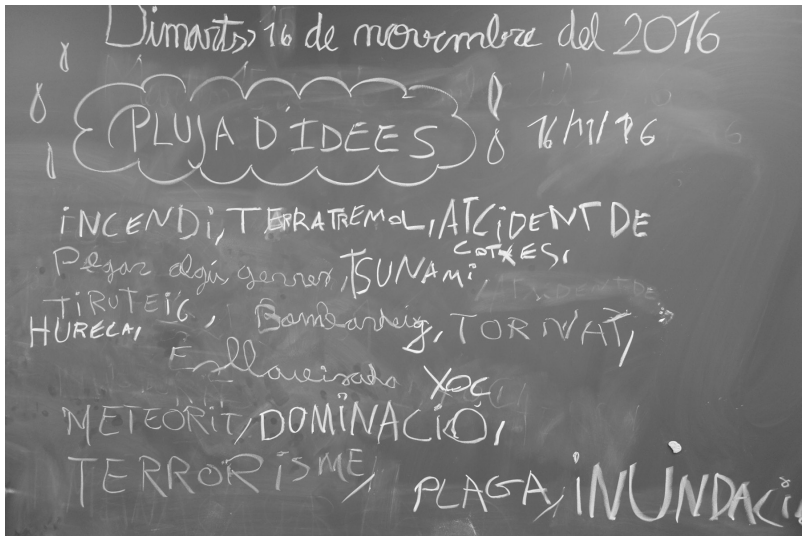
This definition is still in use in the subsequent *Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015–2030* (UNDRR, 2015). Laws and regulations, civil protection guidelines and official emergency plans are most often sustained in precisely defined circumscriptions of what constitutes a disaster and the types of disasters they address.

From the start, CUIDAR rejected a predefinition of disaster. Since our aim was to understand children's perspectives and help give voice to these, we sought to elicit from children themselves what was a disaster for them and to focus the activities on what most concerned them. This raised some resistance from adult stakeholders, such as civil protection officers and teachers, who are used to working under the stricter confines of school curricula or disaster management plans. Children's definitions were, perhaps unsurprisingly, much broader than practitioners': 'something bad we were not expecting', 'an event that causes destruction', 'a problem a country has', 'a thing that damages the environment', 'something dangerous', 'something negative'.

When asked to provide examples of disasters, in discussions or through drawings, children's examples were comprehensive, ranging through the categories: 'natural' (earthquakes, landslides, forest fires, a plague of mosquitoes, wild boar, flood, snow and windstorms) to the 'technological' (plane crashes, train accidents, chemical spills), to the 'social' (terrorism, robberies, refugee crisis). In Spain, children discussed whether all disasters were caused by 'natural hazards', arguing mostly that they were, but that in many examples humans also had a prominent role (for example, car accidents that cause a fire, wildfires caused by fireworks) (see Figure 3.1).

Some groups of children discussed the difference between a risk 'within your control' and a risk 'out of your control', for example by differentiating between a 'natural hazard' and choosing to do something 'risky'. In Greece, some children interpreted the notion of disaster as related to a localised context, such as family or work environment, whereas others had linked the notion of disaster to a broader context, more open and encompassing, such as a country or a continent. Examples of disasters brought forward by children were also strongly influenced by direct experience. In places such as Lorca in Spain and Concordia in Italy, with a recent history of earthquakes, that was the disaster that was mostly frequently mentioned by the children. In the Portuguese and some Greek locations, where children were

Figure 3.1: Discussing the disaster concept in one of the Dialogues in Spain



not calling on such history, representations of disasters came mostly from TV programmes and films, and tended to be large scale and international events, such as tsunamis or volcano eruptions, or inspired by emergency drills at school. However, children in Greece also mentioned the economic crisis and the inflow of refugees, influenced by the problems the country was undergoing at the time. In some cases, this experience could be more personal than communitarian: for instance, a child in Spain mentioned huge floods in Paraguay, his country of origin.

Children's identification of disaster revealed multiple influences. A planetary collision or a black hole indicated that awareness of low-probability/high-impact disasters might be influenced by mass media exposure (films, comics). One group in Spain showed strong awareness of violence between people, to the extent that they repeatedly spoke of fights, violent dogs, guns and robberies. Children knew about these risks in some cases from seeing them on TV, in others from hearing about them from parents or grandparents, and in others by actual events that had occurred in their neighbourhoods.

Direct encounters with disasters meant that the children were more attuned to ideas about risk reduction, as well as place-based risks, and were quick to draw on personal and community experiences. The children in Italy, Spain and the UK who had experienced earthquakes or floods in recent years could quickly identify some of the major

impacts they and their families suffered. They discussed impacts on housing, schools, teachers, parks and businesses. Some of the children spoke about how the disasters had affected their grandparents' graves and the impact of losing personal memories and possessions.

In Rochdale, UK, when asked what would happen if a flood were to happen locally, young children gave a clear picture of the impacts: 'The school would be closed!…', 'Food wouldn't be able to get in!…', 'The doors would be blocked…', 'You'd have to stay in your house until you starved…', 'Your house would need to be fixed…', 'You would have no money…', 'The council has to pay for it'.

In Lorca, young people appeared to be familiar with the concept of DRR, as well as with local risks and the chronology of disasters over the last 10 years. They quickly linked such concepts with personal experiences. For instance, drawing on their experience of the 2011 earthquake, they identified relationships between hazard, risk and disaster:

> 'We have linked these three concepts, and we have said that the hazards/threat leads to risk and risk to disaster. Disaster is the event that causes damage. The risk is that we live in a seismic zone. Disasters negatively affect society, for example an earthquake. We have drawn a house that is falling, the trees are falling.' (Álex, 17 years old, Lorca, Spain)

The children in other locations also strongly associated disasters with their impacts. A risk for them was associated with being in danger, going up the mountain and falling, someone entering a shop wearing a mask and wanting to kill you. In Greece, some children considered situations in which people could not go to work, to the supermarket, or where children could not play outside, to be disastrous. The children also said they were afraid of how they might react in case of a disaster and how they would manage their feelings:

> 'If there is a flood and people go out they may die.' (Maria, 12 years old, deaf/hard of hearing group, Athens, Greece)

> 'During an earthquake a whole town can be destroyed.' (Vassilis, 10 years old, with a vision disability and multiple disabilities, Athens, Greece)

When the children investigated local disasters by searching online and interviewing family members and neighbours (see Chapter 2), they

discovered events that had happened in their community which they were unaware of. Through this they came to an understanding of their impacts. These activities were an opportunity to explore local changes in recent years, focusing on social, economic, environmental and industrial aspects, and to help visualise such events, experiences and conditions. For instance, during a timeline building exercise, a group in Italy discovered how the city layout had been redesigned after a major flood in the 1960s. In this process, some parts of the neighbourhood had disappeared, while other parts were built to host the displaced population, and many of the young people found that they were living in this 'new' neighbourhood. As a result, they decided to put what they had learned into an infographic about the frequency of floods and the impact of the recovery process.

In Greece, children with sensory disabilities discovered the history of disasters in their locality through newspapers and videos. This allowed them to identify impacts such as environmental damage, economic or material loss, human and animal loss, home evacuation, and emotional and health consequences:

> 'When a forest is burned, we do not have oxygen and this is bad for the environment.' (John, 11 years old, deaf and hard of hearing group, Thessaloniki, Greece)

> 'Because people have lost their homes from the water and their belongings have been destroyed.' (Peter, 12 years old, deaf and hard of hearing group, Athens, Greece)

> 'If there is a flood and people go out they may die.' (Anna, 11 years old, deaf and hard of hearing group, Thessaloniki, Greece)

> 'People are terrified when an earthquake happens.' (Stella, 12 years old, deaf and hard of hearing group, Athens, Greece)

> 'During an earthquake, people can lose their lives.' (John, 6 years old, with a vision disability, Volos, Greece)

Interactions with practitioners and community representatives during CUIDAR Dialogues and MLEs allowed the children to acquire new information and perspectives on local hazards and disasters. In Sant Celoni (Barcelona) the Dialogues showed the knowledge gap that

the young people had about local industries: they could situate them on the map but did not know what they produced or the risks they may represent in case of an accident, even though they participated in two annual 'confinement' drills in their high school. For this reason, a visit to one of the major companies that was involved in a chemical accident (a toxic chlorine cloud release) 20 years before was organised. Through this visit, participants could see in situ the safety mechanisms that the industry uses. They could also gain insight into what chemical risk means – for example, they had to turn off mobile phones and put on protective clothing to tour the facilities. Later, the young people produced a map of actors involved in emergencies, addressing some of their queries, and identifying who were the important actors in a chemical incident. At the MLE, a specific discussion about this topic involved two experts: the person in charge of health and safety and the city council economic development representative. The current city mayor, who was the doctor in charge of emergencies at the hospital during the 1996 chemical accident, shared this experience with the young people. This had an effect on children's perceptions of the risks:

> 'We have learnt that chemical industries have more security than we thought. We have learnt a medical doctor's point of view (the mayor) about a chemical accident.' (Young person after the MLE, Sant Celoni, Spain)

The MLE also raised awareness among adult stakeholders of the need to include children and young people in their communication efforts:

> 'Young people do not have information about chemical industries located near them; we should have a communication strategy so they become aware of the preparedness knowledge they need in case of an accident.' (Chemical industry manager, Sant Celoni, Spain)

> 'Young people need to have more real knowledge about the industries around them, what they do, and the different qualifications needed to work there, and overcoming the Industrial Revolution image they still have about these kinds of jobs.' (City council enterprise officer, Sant Celoni, Spain)

Similarly, in Lorca, the city councillor for planning, environment and post-earthquake recovery had held the same position during the 2011 earthquake and could detail how the council had responded to the event.

Children's access to information and communication

The right of participation cannot be enacted without access to knowledge and information. Therefore, the first step is making sure children have access to relevant information, but also establishing two-way communication between them and adult stakeholders. Child-led risk education programmes play a central role in preparing children for active participation in DRM discussions and activities (Ronan and Johnston, 2005; Towers et al, 2014; Benadusi, 2015). Children also have a proven track record as privileged risk communicators who can convey risk reduction measures to their families and communities (Lopez et al, 2012; Towers et al, 2014), particularly in contexts where they tend to be well informed or speak the local language more fluently than migrant parents (Mitchell et al, 2008).

Having practical information about what to do in an emergency and who to contact was seen by the children in CUIDAR as very important. They told us that having reliable information sources was a way to be more resilient, to keep safe and avoid further stress and anxiety during emergencies:

> 'The more we discuss and know about the earthquakes, the more we can think how to react in case of an earthquake in order to not panic.' (John, 12 years old, hard of hearing, Thessaloniki, Greece)

> 'Children do not know how to act when we are alone in case of emergency due to a forest fire. We know what to do in school due to the drills, but I would not know what to do if we were alone, I would be blocked. We would be scared and we would get nervous.' (Marta, 12 years old, Gandesa, Spain)

The children also wanted to inform their families and peers about risks and disasters, and share ways of being prepared:

> 'We want to be informed about how to react before, during and after the earthquake and we need to pass this knowledge on to the other members of the deaf community of our school.' (Georgia, 11 years old, deaf and hard of hearing, Athens, Greece)

> 'The project helped me to know better the risks where I live, and I have to explain these to my parents and the rest of the village.' (Sara, 14 years old, Ancona, Italy)

Peer-to-peer information sharing was highlighted in several cases as being particularly effective. The young people at the MLE in Loures, Portugal, proposed that students should have a role in training younger people on safety procedures at their school. Later, at the National Policy Debate, they suggested being in contact with young people who had direct experience of disasters. In Spain, at the Lorca MLE, the young people recommended the creation of social support and peer support groups. In Sant Celoni the young people suggested the use of social networks for spreading information among peers and not just from official channels.

The children also pointed out the importance of emergency procedures and general knowledge about risks being accessible to all. For instance, a group in Northern Ireland felt very strongly that the 'General Household Emergency Life-Saving Plan' (Belfast City Council) was not child-friendly, and how it was important that more children know what to do in an emergency. So they took the initiative to design a child-friendly leaflet about this plan, which was distributed to the adult stakeholders participating in the event, including parents/families, emergency planning officers from Belfast City Council, designated emergency preparedness group members and British Red Cross representatives.

The children often pointed out that people who are deaf or hard of hearing face several accessibility barriers. For example, one child reported:

> 'If a fire breaks out during the night, then what we are supposed to do since we cannot hear the fire alarm … you see we are not wearing our hearing aids to bed…. I know that I have to put the batteries for my hearing aids in the emergency bag.' (Andrew, 12 years old, hard of hearing, Thessaloniki, Greece)

The children in Athens made an agreement to collaborate with the fire service in order to organise relevant events and actions, leading to the signing of an agreement.

Risk education: a case study from Thessaloniki, Greece

After hearing about a forest fire within the city of Thessaloniki in 1997, the children expressed interest in a site visit. Although this is the only forest around the city, the majority of the children had never been there before. They wanted to be informed about the benefits of the forest, the risks of fire and how to take action before, during and after a forest fire. The visit was made possible through the cooperation of officials from the Forestry of Thessaloniki.

The children stressed the importance of learning about the Seih Sou forest and issues of risk reduction by writing a letter to the Centre of Environmental Education (CEE) about the CUIDAR project and suggesting a joint visit. During this, students talked with the representatives and learned about forest protection. The children also asked to meet the Hellenic Rescue Team and visit the Town Hall to communicate their ideas and ask for more risk reduction education and fire prevention measures for the forest. During their visit to Thessaloniki Town Hall the children met the managers of the Resilient City project. The children presented their work in relation to the CUIDAR project and the relevant activities at their school.

The use of ICT was a recurrent topic in this work. Since children tend to be 'digital natives' (Prensky, 2001), not only did they often choose digital tools to convey their messages (see Chapters 2 and 5), but they also highlighted their importance in communication about disasters. At the MLE in Sant Celoni, Spain, the children proposed using digital technologies to spread information about chemical risks, including: creating communication videos; publishing risk information, news and alerts via social networks used by young people (for example, Instagram) or via chat services (for example, WhatsApp); and creating a specific app for smartphones that automatically activates in case of emergency and sends children's locations to their parents/family. In Gandesa, the young people also suggested using social networks to communicate what to do in case of forest fire. Some children were unaware that authorities already use digital technologies to communicate with citizens. In one UK Policy Debate, the children were impressed to hear about the British Red Cross's first aid app:

> 'We have learnt that our city council has social network accounts.' (Young people, Sant Celoni, Spain)

At the Portuguese Policy Debate one joint discussion group proposed creating a digital communication platform about DRR targeted at young people. At the Italian Policy Debate, the head of the Calabrian Civil Protection Agency, who had already participated in the MLE in Crotone, asked a youth group to play an active role in using and sharing 'Easy Alert', a mobile phone app developed by the Regio Civil Protection Agency. This app enables citizens to report disasters in real time in the region and to convey information to the 24-hour operational regional structure. Events such as fires, landslides, floods, earthquakes, tsunamis, storms, strong winds and road accidents can be immediately geo-located. Users downloading the app can call for help directly to the Civil Protection operating room and report emergencies by sending a photograph and text that tells the story or signals victims. This request by the Civil Protection Agency for children to use the system implies recognition of their capacity to understand events and communicate them to the relevant authorities and their competence with communication technologies. It also implies a meaningful understanding of children's participation by adults and local authorities in preparedness and response activities. Hopefully it can also signify a route to cultural change in how society and policy-makers see children's role in this field.

However, digital systems were not seen to be a magic bullet. In the Glasgow Dialogues we realised that most of the children had low levels of literacy and many did not speak English as a first language. They found printed and online materials difficult to follow, and videos were often narrated with a local accent, reducing accessibility for those children. In addition, children in Spain and Italy who had previously experienced earthquakes shared their concern about the reliability of communications during an emergency and the limitations (and dangers) of online communication. In Spain, the Lorca group stated that rumours after the 2013 earthquake had produced further distress. One student reported that 'People passed by in a van saying that another earthquake would come, that we had to leave, so they could steal from the houses.' They also talked about the importance of creating reliable sources of information, centralised by the public authorities, and to have spaces for debate and sharing of experiences and knowledge among citizens. They recognised the importance of social networks and mobile phones, but they were also aware that these may not work in a disaster situation (in Lorca, in fact, the phones stopped working in the first hours after the earthquake). Also, the Ancona group in Italy remarked that after the earthquake, they came

across a lot of fake and unreliable information on the internet which caused more anxiety and fear about what happened or could happen. Both groups underlined the importance of access to trustworthy and official information during emergencies. As a result, information and communication issues figured quite highly in the commitments made by adult stakeholders in their interaction with the children.

In Crotone (Italy), participants built a 'Decalogue of good practices' which prioritised, among other things, 'communication', 'attention to people with vulnerabilities', 'training about emergencies', 'knowledge of risks' and 'training about safety in emergencies'. Suggestions about how to overcome the lack of young people's involvement were proposed, such as creating youth forums and clubs to make institutions communicate with young people; setting up a 'day of participation' every year organised by the municipality; and designing projects in schools to enhance participation and create synergies with local authorities. At the National Policy Debate, young people, policy-makers, experts, practitioners and parents built a CUIDAR Manifesto/ Children's Charter; a main feature of this was that children and young people should receive appropriate training about all kinds of hazards and how to protect themselves.

This Manifesto states:

> We would like to learn at school the topics on disaster risk reduction and emergencies together with geography, science and other subjects. It is so important to know these things, to know how to behave in an emergency and to know the risks, vulnerabilities and resources of where we live, these things save our lives.… The information we provide must be understandable, and our kits, videos, brochures, and sites where there are risk information campaigns must take account of our capabilities and needs. For example, interactive games for children could be developed to teach about the risks and how to deal with them.

In Portugal, roundtable discussions at the Policy Debate led to proposals on participatory risk education including: developing ways to foster a better knowledge of the places children live in; summer camps and awareness initiatives targeted at specific groups; focused discussion groups in neighbourhoods; slots dedicated to the topic in the school curricula; joint risk working groups between children and adults; and youth assemblies where young people can discuss improvements and implement good practice (see Figure 3.2).

Figure 3.2: Proposals for risk education, national Policy Debate, Portugal

Risk and education: a case study from Sant Celoni, Spain

At Sant Celoni, the way the city council works on chemical risk with children has been transformed based on what was learned at the CUIDAR MLE. Simultaneously the council education and economic development departments started a project to address a problem faced by the industry: a shortage of qualified workers for the next generation, predicted in five to ten years. To address this, the council, supported by the industry, launched the Montquímic project in 2017, an educational programme for primary and secondary teachers and students, to increase children and young people's interest in chemistry. This includes teacher training, experiments, industry site visits and a public competition for students, and coincides with the re-launch of a vocational training course in Industrial Chemistry in the high school participating in CUIDAR.

The MLE worked as an exercise to connect all these challenges and actions around chemical risk, and start a collaboration based on economic development, education and civil protection. As a result, the 2018–19 version of Montquímic included specific activities on chemical risk, based on the young people's suggestions:

- Getting to know the local chemical industries: where are they and what do they produce?

- Learning about chemical risk and how it affects the municipality (working with risk maps, sirens and drills, and self-protection advice).
- Organising visits to the industrial plants.
- Developing a communication and sensitisation campaign for the district about chemical risk.

Initially, Montquímic consisted of conducting scientific experiments at schools, an exhibition fair, some field trips to the industries, and other 'playful' activities. After CUIDAR the project began involving firefighters and added the chemical risk perspective transversally: not only as a risk education activity linked to civil protection but also concerning health and safety issues when doing school experiments as well as the potential risk of industries for the whole population. Specific teacher training was also included. This integrated and collaborative approach will also be applied to another risk that affects the locality: forest fires. Located next to the two most extensive Natural Parks in the Barcelona area, Sant Celoni attracts visitors to its forests, an important source of local income.

The annual Forest Week event organised by the council to promote this economic relationship with the forest area included for the first time activities centred on fire risk reduction. In the 2019 Forest Week edition, firefighters participated in (1) an exhibition of one of their trucks and the tools they usually use, where assistants could respond to questions this prompted (aimed mostly at children); and (2) talks by professional and volunteer firefighters about forest fire prevention and the work they do (aimed mostly at adults).

Needs and actions of children in disaster situations

CUIDAR brought children and adults together to discuss the actions that should be undertaken before, during and after a disaster. As seen in Chapter 1, there is a rich literature on the roles children play in averting disasters or acting when they strike, mostly in developing countries. Mitchell et al (2008) show how in El Salvador children's clubs were instrumental in identifying local risks and developing campaigns to raise awareness and push for measures to reduce those risks. In the Philippines, children campaigned to have schools relocated to safer ground, despite the opposition of adults (Tanner, 2010). During Hurricane Stan in El Salvador, youth groups facilitated the evacuation of families at risk and managed an emergency camp set up in their school (Tanner, 2010; Seballos et al, 2011). After Typhoon Yolanda in

the Philippines, Finnegan (2014) organised consultations with children to ascertain their views on the effects of the disaster, their priorities for action and their suggestions for improving the response. She learned that children had credible views on these matters, that they had played an important role in the evacuation and risk mitigation before the events, that they helped in the recovery of their communities and wanted to learn more to prepare for future emergencies.

Peek (2008: 14) states that children have specific skills and traits that make them particularly useful in tackling disasters: 'Children's knowledge, creativity, energy, enthusiasm, and social networks could be utilized during all phases of the disaster life cycle'. CUIDAR's Dialogues prompted the children and young people to explore concepts including vulnerability, capacity and resilience. The Dialogues in Ancona and Crotone (Italy) encouraged the teenagers to define resilience (a concept they had learned in science classes) and suggest some actions to enhance preparedness locally. In Gandesa (Spain), the children were not aware of the concept of 'resilience' but, after discussing it, came to associate it with 'the process of mourning and recovery after losing an important person'. They also identified ways to help people to be resilient, including teamwork, education, managing emotion, physical strength, independence, perspective, maturity, life experience and problem-solving skills.

When talking about vulnerability, the children showed a strong empathy for groups, for example, older people, babies and toddlers, who might be adversely impacted in emergency situations. But they also identified other groups with particular vulnerabilities such as people living far from the village, town or city, people with mental health problems, foreigners who do not know the territory or language, tourists, wheelchair users and children who would not know who to call or what to do. They came up with suggestions to address the needs of more vulnerable people, such as organising food donations, providing shelter for displaced people, entertaining small children in shelters, and giving psychological support for those affected by disasters and for people rendered homeless:

> 'We should do more about disabled people and how children can take care of them, and help them escape in a flood.' (Kasen, 10 years old, Salford, UK)

The children also highlighted the vulnerability of domestic animals. In a Dialogue in Lisbon, 4th graders (aged 9-10) developed a performance centred on a dog injured in a flood and the efforts of first responders

to save it. This resonates with the literature that shows that disaster impacts on pets and animals can cause distress and feelings of loss in children, who often point out the need to prioritise their safety (Looman, 2006; FEMA, 2010; Walker et al, 2012; Harwood et al, 2014; Towers, 2015):

> 'The trees and the animals are burned; the animals lose their home when there is a fire in the forest.' (Nick, 11 years old, deaf and hard of hearing group, Thessaloniki, Greece)

The Italian CUIDAR Manifesto/Children's Charter states that emergency planning should take into account those who are more vulnerable. For instance, training should be provided for disabled people and for all those who could help them; information on what to do during an emergency and accessing safe places should be highlighted in different ways (using colour, sound, different languages); and assistance for disabled people during emergencies should be foreseen and architectural barriers eliminated.

The children also felt it would be important in emergencies to secure the places they see as safe community hubs, such as schools and historic buildings. In Concordia sulla Secchia, Italy, the children created a video about the places that had been destroyed and then abandoned after the 2012 earthquake and that they identified as important for them and the community (CUIDAR, 2018b). These places were the old school, the old opera theatre and the church, all located in the historic centre of the city that was severely damaged. Five years later, many of these buildings were still closed or under construction, but the community and the children had no information about the local municipal reconstruction plans or timetable for reopening. The video served as a way of reaching the authorities, and as a result, the Mayor gave an interview providing answers, and the video has since been shown at school events for other students.

In Portugal, the 9th graders (aged 13–14) in Loures chose to focus on the vulnerabilities of their school buildings and surrounding areas to extreme weather events, such as storms and cold waves. They pointed out that gutters were blocked with litter, there were holes in the path to the school entrance, the playing field was inadequately built (it flooded in heavy rain), there were deficiencies in the condition of the school buildings and a lack of heating in the classrooms (making them extremely cold in winter). The children asked for a new electrical grid with enough capacity to heat classrooms and for renovations. They proposed raising awareness among younger students of the need to

adopt safety behaviours when in school, such as sheltering during a storm, and to organise a litter clearing competition to mitigate flood risk in the school. The city councillor in attendance at the MLE recognised that the school had infrastructural problems, recalling the time when she herself had studied there. Some months later, we ascertained that some renovation work had been done, at least on the school entrance path. The school board had also decided to close down the playing fields during recess, citing the lack of safety highlighted by the children.

Children and adults at the Policy Debate in Italy agreed that school had to be a safe place and education should not be interrupted in an emergency. Their Manifesto recommended:

- Our schools need more maintenance; old and/or damaged buildings must be rebuilt with suitable materials and in safe areas.
- During the rainy season, schools should not be closed in advance for the fear of the rain getting in. We have the right to go to school and not to miss lessons.
- Our schools must be safe, must have the certificates required by law, and above all schools should have an emergency plan. The plan must be familiar to all students, teachers and all those attending school, including our parents.

Including children's needs in civil protection: a case study from Italy

At the Policy Debate in Rome, adult stakeholders reported that CUIDAR and previous work with Save the Children Italy had allowed them to depart from more traditional approaches to consider the specific needs of children and young people. The national director of civil protection operations acknowledged that the civil protection system was mainly concerned with meeting the basic needs of the population in a disaster, such as providing food and shelter, rather than taking issues such as education, child-friendly spaces and children's specific services into consideration. He explained how in recent years the civil protection system was changing and becoming more aware and inclusive of children's needs.

The Lazio director of civil protection recognised the importance of having child participation measures in the system, and talked about the Memorandum of Understanding signed with Save the Children in 2016, an agreement that allows the NGO to install child-friendly spaces in areas where people had been displaced.

This agreement enabled the regional agency to start specific training for civil protection personnel and volunteers about children's needs in emergencies.

The delegate from the National Association of Municipalities (ANCI) talked about what mayors can do to include children's protection measures within municipal emergency plans, namely, to guarantee emergency educational continuity, mapping and coordinating civil protection volunteering, supporting child-friendly spaces and working closely with schools in risk reduction programmes. The Marche Region civil protection official explained how child-friendly 'modules' were now included within their emergency response assets.

In all the Dialogues, the children and young people collectively designed communal plans for disaster preparedness that would diminish the impact of disasters on children's lives. While the children were not given any specific information about official civil protection recommendations for addressing risks in advance, many measures they proposed were seen to be logical and reflected official advice, although in arguably more interesting ways and innovative formats. Although some measures were similar to official advice, the children were usually more ambitious, particularly in relation to disaster recovery.

Children's risk reduction measures: a case study from Portugal

In Albufeira, the children and young people elected to work on urban flooding, since the city had experienced severe events a few years previously. After collecting information about the 2015 floods, examining local maps and interviewing civil protection officers, the children devised a set of risk reduction measures for before, during and after the floods in three different domains: at home, at school and in the city. These measures formed the backbone of the MLE, which had the participation of the mayor, the councillor for civil protection, all the civil protection office staff, the head of the fire department, representatives from the maritime authority and the local police. Children presented the measures through drawings (4th graders, aged 9–10) and a PowerPoint presentation (9th graders, aged 13–14).

The measures ranged from the practical:

Close doors and windows
Turn off the electricity and gas
Go to a higher point

to the more imaginative:

Buy a rowing boat
Have lifejackets at school
Build a bunker at school, with supplies

Some measures reflected civil protection advice:

Distribute chores among family members and set up a rendezvous point
Prepare an emergency backpack and a first aid kit
Call the police and the fire department

Whereas others showed heightened social awareness:

Help students with special needs to protect themselves
Ask for help from social security in case rehousing is needed
Help people in need (elderly, younger children, disabled people, people in public spaces)

Some measures were eminently preventive:

Know the vulnerabilities of the city
Have more drains in the school
Create more green areas and with permeable pavements

And others were meant to be put in place once disaster strikes:

Remove manhole covers
Do volunteer work
Organise food collection campaigns and have a place where people rendered homeless can stay and have activities

Adult stakeholders' reactions to these proposals varied. While a teacher and the head of the fire department criticised the idea of building bunkers, pointing out these were suitable for tornadoes but not for floods, the head of civil protection commented that if one was to interpret 'bunker' in the wider sense of a safe place, such as a high place during a flood, then the suggestion made perfect sense. The fire department commander explained that removing manhole covers might lead to people falling into the holes. Young people also proposed creating school-based civil protection clubs, an idea met with immediate approval by the local authorities.

> 'And we also want to take advantage of and congratulate you on this great idea you had with regard to civil protection clubs. We will meet with the teachers and with you and will take this forward, because your involvement, your ideas, your active participation are extremely important,

> because as the Mayor said, you are our future, our diamonds, and civil protection begins in each of us. And the earlier, the better! You are all welcome.' (Civil protection councillor, Albufeira MLE, Portugal)

By discussing and finding feasible common solutions with adults, the children realised how much CUIDAR had enhanced their DRR knowledge, skills and abilities, as well as their citizenship. They could also see that preparedness and mitigation measures proposed by experts, civil protection officials and other attendees were not new to them, but that they could contribute new material and a fresh perspective to the debates:

> 'I think they should give more opportunity to the young people's opinions, because although they think we are immature and that we are going to say outlandish things, it is a lie, there are many young people that are very mature.' (Young person after the National Policy Debate, Portugal)

Adult stakeholders mostly commended the children's work in examining risk and proposing actions to mitigate them:

> 'All the work you have done is very, very, very important for the firefighters, because our society only thinks of fires when they see the smoke, and then they want a firefighter to go there and put it out. That children like you are working on this subject is very important to us because we can also learn a lot from you.' (Catalan firefighters' head press officer, MLE, Spain)

> 'We always learn. We always learn from each other. And in fact, being able to participate in a session like this with children in grades 4 and 9 is really a unique learning experience. This is fabulous!' (Operational commander, Municipal Civil Protection Service, Portugal)

However, what he said next calls into question whether he did acknowledge the value of children's contributions. By using words such as 'naiveté' or 'purity', he seems to relegate children to the usual role of innocent beings, inexperienced and unable to provide useful contributions:

> 'It is here that one must begin, by listening to these children, because their naiveté conveys to us what purity is! Their honesty, frankness, therefore, is where we can take, in fact, a … I will not say experience, because they have no experience, of course, but an honesty about things, about which we can reflect.'

Throughout this work it became clear that, in emergencies, children wanted to do more than be the passive recipients of assistance. They wanted to take part in all aspects of disaster management, from prevention to reconstruction. Across the board in all countries, the children called for opportunities for active involvement:

> 'I learned when there is a flood and it has stopped, you can help clean up the environment and other people's homes. I want people to be happy and healthy.' (Isaac, 9 years old, Salford, UK)

This was perhaps the most challenging aspect in which to sensitise adult stakeholders, but some of their statements lead us to think that some change of perspective was achieved:

> 'Somehow this project shows us the way. We have to reach children and young people in schools, in their recreational spaces, and find ways on how to discuss with them about issues that sometimes are seen as far from their own knowledge. But we have seen that it's not like this because these issues have to deal with their territory, homes and schools and it's important to find ways to communicate these issues as the CUIDAR project *did*.' (Head of Operations, Department of Civil Protection, after the Policy Debate in Italy)

In Swansea, Wales, the MLE showed that those in key roles within the local authority and emergency services, such as the police, fire and ambulance service, had thought that it was enough just to listen to the children's voices, but the event highlighted that there was clearly a gap in their planning and procedures, something they all pledged to examine. All attendees promised to ensure that in future planning they would consult with children. A staff member of Natural Resources Wales said that he had learned 'how amazing children are

with learning about the type of thing we would usually try to shelter them from'.

Children in emergency planning: a case study from Italy

In April 2018, a Memorandum of Understanding to promote inclusion of children's needs within municipal emergency plans was signed between officials from the Marche Region, the Ombudsman for Children and Young People, the Marche Association of Municipalities and Save the Children. The Ombudsman's support for this initiative was strengthened by his involvement in the CUIDAR project. The agreement followed work started by Save the Children in 2015 with the Marche Civil Protection Agency as part of the trialling of 'Child-Centered Guidelines for Emergency Planning'. Then, during a CUIDAR event, the Ombudsman met a delegation of young people and learned how their active involvement in the project led them to design a child-friendly version of the local emergency plan for use on mobile phones. Consequently, the Agency published this child-friendly plan on its institutional web page, demonstrating a new willingness to recognise children's role in strengthening community resilience to disasters.

Conclusion

To give effect to children's participation rights is a challenging goal, and even more so in the context of DRM in European risk-averse societies. Some theories of risk society (Scott, 2000; Ekberg, 2007; Faulkner and Ball, 2007) postulate that rather than 'risk societies' we live in 'risk-averse societies' or 'angst societies', overly concerned with avoiding and eliminating all risk. A 'children at risk' discourse (Hope et al, 2007) positions children as vulnerable potential victims in all spheres of their lives, from playground games to online activities, constantly in need of supervision by adults. Emergency planners and even education professionals work in fields mostly dominated by images of childhood that underestimate young people's knowledge, autonomy and capabilities (Gibbs et al, 2014b), and children may learn to reproduce these expectations, undermining their resilience:

> Without experience of adversity, a child may be protected but has nothing to adapt to positively and so will not become resilient. A risk-averse society will, paradoxically, exacerbate rather than reduce the very vulnerabilities

> it seeks to protect by undermining the development of resilience. (Livingstone, 2013: 24)

Thus, involvement in participatory practices that question these traditional hierarchies may have a transformative effect. Most of CUIDAR's adult stakeholders realised how much they might be missing from not taking children's voices into account, not just for all that children know about themselves, but also about the communities where they live, detailed local information that can be crucial in case of an emergency. Similarly, children feel empowered and eager to learn more and take action, when they are given an appropriate space to contribute. This is a topic that can generate fears and anxiety if not suitably presented to children.

However, to design and implement such participatory experiences is time-consuming and requires a group of facilitators trained in highly reflective, flexible and context-sensitive approaches. Moreover, when considered only as an exception to the ordinary way of doing things (for both children and adults), participation becomes fragile and anecdotal, and even counter-productive to its transformative potential, as it can easily deteriorate into tokenism. To merely consult children, without giving their proposals meaningful consideration, is almost worse than not listening to them at all. It only reinforces among them the notion that adults do not take them seriously and may discourage them from participating in future. Therefore, successful participatory DRR practices with children and young people need to be part of broader participatory ecosystems and attitudes that seek to include diverse voices, knowledge, ideas and actions to build community resilience.

Note

[1] Whenever possible, we endeavour to identify the sources of these quotes, for both the children (pseudonym, age, location) and adults (position, location). However, in some cases we performed anonymous evaluations (for instance, through online surveys or post-it notes placed on walls) or group discussions.

4

Building a framework for child-centred disaster risk management in Europe

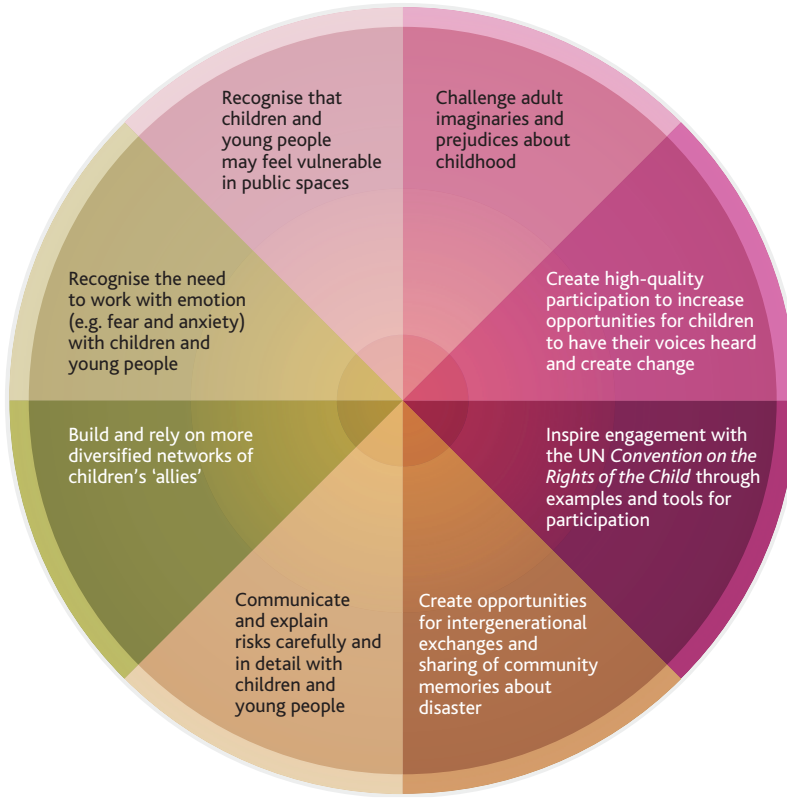
Israel Rodríguez-Giralt, Maggie Mort, Ana Nunes de Almeida and Ana Sofia Ribeiro

Introduction

What might child-centred disaster risk management (DRM) planning look like? We argue that this would certainly involve a cultural shift within what is a highly adult-centric and often militaristic milieu, towards recognition of the value of young people's experience and expertise. To examine what this shift involves, we work with two versions of 'culture'. The first entails regarding children themselves as a cultural group, by virtue of being disenfranchised from DRM matters, which in turn gives children a particular perspective on risk and disaster. Second, and as we saw from Chapter 1, 'childhood' itself is often universalised, yet children embody all the cultural differences and diversity found in society as a whole. To help promote culturally sensitive disaster planning, particularly in a changing and increasingly diverse Europe, we have developed a resource to assist decision-makers and practitioners in disaster management work in a more child-friendly way. This Framework draws directly on what we have learned from the children and young people participating in the CUIDAR project (see Figure 4.1). It draws on what they told us they needed to become resilient; how 'adultist' plans should change, and how authorities and practitioners within DRM need to listen strategically to benefit from the contributions of children and young people.

This Framework acts to combine evidence, reflection and recommendations to support policy-makers and practitioners who are not used to working with children and young people, to build child-centred disaster management plans. It also serves as a communication tool to help decision-makers and practitioners understand how to take account of children and young people's needs and capacities in this

Figure 4.1: The CUIDAR Framework for building child-centred disaster risk management



Source: © 2019 Design, UNDRR/Eyetalk Communications

field. Our overarching point is that successful risk reduction requires adults actively to reach out to children to ensure they are heard in DRM processes including preparation, response, reconstruction, adaptation and recovery. In this way, it will be possible for each of the Framework steps to be followed. Whether creating new plans or reviewing existing ones, these steps will support the development of inclusive and culturally sensitive plans relevant before, during and after disasters.

Some readers probably wonder whether this field needs another framework, tool or resource: many of the agreements, recommendations and public policies for disaster risk reduction (DRR) have been articulated and circulated through 'frameworks'. The Hyogo (2005) and Sendai (2015) Frameworks are good examples of this. Such frameworks provide guidelines for action and can help

communicate research, practice and policy across diverse audiences, although they often fail to reflect the more collaborative, open and controversial dimensions of the issues at stake. Our Framework aims to turn children's experiences, needs and capacities into actionable knowledge, but without portraying these as incontestable evidence or into policy recommendations that must be 'followed' or 'applied' acritically, which can be the effect of many toolkits, checklists, and indeed frameworks. Our Framework is not a closed document; rather, it works to foster a staged debate about open, inclusive and culturally sensitive approaches to DRM, as explored in part through our international film (see Figure 4.2):[1]

Figure 4.2: CUIDAR international film[2]

Challenge adult imaginaries and prejudices about childhood

As we have seen in Chapter 1, we began with a Scoping Review, collecting data, namely from policies, practices and projects relating to levels of children's participation in DRM in each of the five partner countries. The majority of this material was in the form of educational programmes and awareness and information campaigns, revealing very little evidence of children meaningfully participating in community resilience-building or DRM more broadly. Interestingly, less than 8 per cent of our findings included either adult-initiated shared decision-making with young people or were led or initiated by children themselves. What seems to inhibit their participation are adult imaginaries about children and young people which consider them as intrinsically vulnerable, as objects of care or as passive beneficiaries/recipients of plans, policies and decisions. Moreover, it appears that adults consistently fail to consider this age group as internally diverse.

As we have seen, CUIDAR clearly shows that children are not all helpless victims, and nor are they all equally affected by risk and disaster. Some groups of children (for example, coming from deprived social milieu and disabled children) are more exposed to risks than others, and some groups of children are less vulnerable than some groups of adults. Children are also active agents and can competently participate, along with adults, in DRR policies and practices. Some exploratory programmes and projects have been contributing to this move by exploring new ways of hearing from children through creative and participative methodologies (Fothergill and Peek, 2015). This move both supports the right to participation and inspires contemporary political and children/adults rights movements that demand more inclusive and participatory forms of 'active citizenship' (Trevisan, 2014).

So, challenging the children at-risk paradigm is a priority to build up resilient communities in contemporary societies. Indeed, the field of childhood studies has challenged this traditionally established paradigm, stating first, that childhood is not a natural reality or an abstract, universal category, but a historical or social construction, anchored in space and time. In line with Philippe Ariès' influential work (1973), *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'Ancien Régime*, childhood emerged in modern Western societies framed within the privatised and sentimentalised bourgeois family ideal: a child was regarded as unique (different from the adult) and irreplaceable. Furthermore, the child was attributed a specific place of socialisation, detached from the family working network: this place is now called school.

The statement that childhood is not a homogeneous condition is relevant here: gender, social class, ethnicity and age introduce diversity in an unequal landscape. Children are not abstract entities, deduced from a psychological or biological universal child. Children, like adults, occupy different places within the societies that diversify their childhoods. They are not merely passive recipients of social norms and practices. Children's agency may become visible showing that they are competent and active in the construction of their lives, the lives of those around them and the societies in which they live. So, children's social relations are worthy topics of study, irrespective of adults' perspectives or interests. Furthermore, children deserve to be considered as 'beings in the present' and not just as 'adults in the making', as sociologists Harden et al (2000) advocated. In this we can see how traditional perspectives, which portray children as mutable, unachieved, dependent or incompetent 'human becomings' (Qvortrup, 2009), become problematic. This is why, against the prevalence of

'children at risk' and 'unreadiness' paradigms, it is crucial to recognise children as active citizens capable of being involved in the development of policies for disaster prevention, preparedness and response.

Create high-quality participation to increase opportunities for children to have their voices heard

Inviting children to participate and engage meaningfully in debates with adults is no simple task. It requires time to engage in a process of reflection and recognition. As the CUIDAR Scoping Review showed (see Chapter 1), participatory initiatives that include children in DRM in Europe are scarce, and despite the existence of programmes such as UNICEF's 'Child-Friendly Cities' we found that children's right to have a voice was still largely unknown among organisations on the ground.

Unfortunately, where initiatives that require children's views are gaining ground, there is a danger that their participation becomes instrumentalised. What we mean by this is how organisations may seek to extract information from children in order to legitimise some strategic goal or position, without enabling young people's ongoing involvement in the development of policies or services. One respondent gives an example here:

> 'It's so good, you can fill a room, I've heard it. It's very easy to work with the kids who fill the rooms and make a good photograph, isn't it? And they clap their hands and laugh and smile for the pictures.... I heard a head of the parish council talking about "broadening the team", "let's work together because we need more hands and arms to work". That is also instrumental, isn't it?' (Practitioner working on participatory projects, Scoping Review interview, Lisbon)

The danger of instrumentalisation was addressed by sociologist Roger Hart (1992), who visualised children's engagement through a ladder of participation with ascending degrees (as shown in the Introduction to this book), ranging from tokenism and manipulation at the lower end, to higher rungs where adults initiate processes and share decisions with children, or even where children initiate actions and share decisions with adults.

Hence, for children's full participation to occur it is necessary that adults see children as their partners, allowing them to set the agenda, creating a power shift. Yet, as we have seen, children are often excluded

from participation processes due to prejudices regarding their own competencies. However, as the Portuguese experience reveals, even young children (when supported) can give relevant messages to adults. For example, 4th grade children in Loures (aged 9–10), with the help of their teacher, made a video about flooding in their town. This video was shown at the MLE, where the Loures educational coordinator stated:

> 'When I saw the 4th grade movie, … I have stories told by my family, in Bucelas, whenever there were floods people died. So for me the floods scare me a lot. So your film reminded me of some things that I didn't remember and taught me others that I didn't know either. It made me feel calm after overall, which is essential in times of disaster!'

The CUIDAR Dialogues with Children closely followed a process of democratisation and development. Designed by Save the Children Italy, as seen in Chapter 2, they aimed to bring about change for children, enhancing their inclusion in decision-making processes and in preparing and managing risk. Involving 552 children and young people in five countries, they engaged children from a wide range of cultural and socio-economic contexts, from areas of high and low economic deprivation to geographical differences, and children belonging to minority ethnic groups and migrant families. In Greece, the Dialogues also included deaf and hard of hearing children and children with vision disabilities. The diversity of participants made us aware of the intersectionality of children as an excluded group, and this required local adaptation of the learning techniques and content employed, respecting each child's capacities, interests and experiences.

The progressive and incremental structure of the Dialogues began with the introduction of the right to participate as a tool to nurture children's self-confidence in their own abilities. This unfolded using action-based methodologies, which included community mapping, interviews with local disaster management partners and identification of forms of communication for key messages. We found that our building blocks approach (starting with children's rights, working with groups of young people over time, facilitating engaging, child-friendly learning and action-taking) was found to be significantly more impactful than a traditional 'broadcast' approach in which information or instructions are delivered to children as awareness-raising (Rashid et al, 2016). We found that 'non-traditional' methods worked best, such as field trips, engaging community speakers, games, modelling and community mapping (see Chapter 5).

In the Dialogues the children decided to approach different risks in-depth, such as earthquakes, forest fires or floods, choosing what they felt mattered the most for their community. While some Dialogues took place in traditional classroom settings, others were enacted in village halls, youth clubs and other informal community settings. Differences in settings showed us that while in school, expectations and perceptions about children's capacities are shaped by their age and grade level, whereas in an informal setting, this is less likely to apply, allowing for other social factors to shape their involvement and our approach. Of course, there are some maturity differences between children and young people, and tailoring interactions for different preferences can be useful. Our Spanish partners discovered that when the children engaged with adults through CUIDAR, the younger children showed curiosity and wanting to know more about risk and disaster through question and answer, while the older ones preferred to engage in more interactive ways based on their own experiences. Thus, adults who engage with children also need to be sensitised for children's particular styles of communication. As the Spanish experience suggests, one way to do this could be through a written agreement between all participants (children and adults) that establishes ground rules for participation.

Considering learning contexts, schools are generally hierarchical settings where children do not always feel at ease expressing their ideas. Also, the rigidity of formal curricula does not always allow the necessary time that participatory approaches require. Referring to her experience in a UK community project with young women, Thomas-Hughes (2018) stressed the importance of 'mess' in co-produced knowledge processes, requiring buy-in and flexibility from practitioners, teachers or researchers. As we have seen in CUIDAR, this flexibility may be more compatible with informal learning settings, assuming that facilitators are skilled at letting the children set the pace of the process. Of course, informal learning can and does take place in schools, and some pedagogical techniques involve participation, in the context of DRR, but where the topic involves community resilience building, we found school settings to be more restrictive.

A word of caution must be given concerning the capacity to turn children's ideas into practice. Achieving influence and impact are among the great challenges for children, as they often feel their voices are not heard. Disillusion with participation can be an unwanted result, when children and young people perceive their participation bears no weight in final decisions. Often, due to economic and political constraints, it is hard to enact change. Hence, there is a need to set

realistic goals with children. During the National Policy Debate in Portugal, while discussing children's participation in school security issues, one of the adult stakeholders from municipal services stated:

> 'Children do not participate because they don't have enough information and means to, either in security or in other areas. And this is because it doesn't suit the adults who have the power. The only way to get kids to participate is to guarantee that there will be consequences of their participation. Otherwise the motivation is gone right away, because they come and say: I went there, participated and gave my opinion and nothing changed, so next time I won't go.'

To concur with Lundy's critique (2007) in '"Voice" is not enough', fostering good and high-quality participation requires an appropriate space and a responsive audience. Through the process of Dialogues with Children, Mutual Learning Exercises and National Policy Debates, CUIDAR advocated for an ethical participation process, where adults commit to taking children seriously, creating a space of recognition for children's ideas and capacities, facilitating their communication and establishing a trustworthy relationship.

Inspire engagement with the UN *Convention on the Rights of the Child* through examples and tools for participation

Children's citizenship has become a relevant theme in contemporary social policy debates (Cockburn, 2012) and a major milestone here is the UNCRC (OHCHR, 1989), a binding agreement for all the signing countries. Very clearly, the Convention's Article 12 (page 5) assures:

> …to the child who is capable of forming his or her own views the right to express those views freely in all matters affecting the child, the views of the child being given due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child.

And consequently:

> …for this purpose, the child shall in particular be provided the opportunity to be heard in any judicial and administrative proceedings affecting the child, either directly, or through a representative or an appropriate body, in a manner consistent with the procedural rules of national law.

Article 13 deepens this principle, giving the child:

> …the right to freedom of expression; this right shall include freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media of the child's choice.

However CUIDAR researchers noted widespread unfamiliarity with Article 12. Although children's participation in decision-making that affects them is a right acknowledged through the Article, importantly the children we met in CUIDAR had little knowledge of these rights, mostly because very few projects in which they had been involved had ever made these rights transparent. Again, few adult actors – practitioners, experts, teachers – were aware of the rights afforded by the Convention. Yet once we explored Article 12 specifically with children and adults alike, a door opened for them to start seeing DRM as a core matter of concern. For instance, in the UK, the children found the idea of 'rights' very empowering, giving them 'permission' to speak and make sure they were heard:

> 'Today I learnt that everyone has a right, to have a right, because I thought that we are too young to have a right.' (Lilly, 9 years old, Rochdale, UK)

Article 12 also provided us with a foundation for building adequate spaces and methodologies for child-led identification and prioritisation of risks in their local communities, for discussing which impacts they considered more relevant and what different actors could do to mitigate them. They also had the opportunity to prepare and share communication plans, aimed at adults, the external stakeholders. Children's feedback about this capacity-building process was positive and encouraging, suggesting an impact on their future attitudes far beyond CUIDAR. For instance, one of the participants discovered the importance of being informed and her active role in the community:

> 'The project helped me to better know the risks of the place I live in and I have to explain these to my parents and the rest of the village.' (Sara, 12 years old, Concordia Sulla Secchia, Italy)

And Magda (14 years old, Loures, Portugal) made a comment that showed the relationship between articulating something and gaining mutual understanding:

> '[In this Dialogue] we could express our opinions but also because we learned how to relate to each other.'

Creating MLEs provided spaces for interchange between children and stakeholders from the community. For some of the stakeholders this was a revelation as it was the very first time they had faced children as active partners in decision-making. These were also exercises in hearing and interacting with them, requiring adults to embrace different 'codes' or forms of communication. Testimonies were illuminating: 'During the meeting, I became aware that there are adults who still care about what teenagers say', and stakeholders themselves recognised: '… the urgency of ensuring the empowerment of children and young people in information and awareness-raising programmes'.

CUIDAR as a project has made visible many of the absences and limitations to children's participatory rights in DRR. It showed that children's rights in such decision-making processes are still far from being implemented in established political agendas, settings or processes (de Almeida et al, 2018). But through local participative experiences, ways of unlocking the potential of hearing and engaging children in decision-making processes became apparent. Article 12 of the UNCRC served as a tool of empowerment for both children and adults, affording them a legitimate space to begin work on inclusive DRM.

Create opportunities for intergenerational exchanges and sharing of community memories about disaster

> 'Grandmothers and families can tell us very interesting things.' (Edgar, 11 years old, Gandesa, Spain)

As outlined in Chapter 3, a key feature of our initial approach was to create a space for children themselves to identify what counted as disaster in their lives, in their places. Rather than offering young people a definition developed by the research team, or indeed from the extensive disaster studies literature, participating children worked this out through discussion and their own research. In many cases this began with talking with older adults and relatives. For example, the children in Gandesa interviewed their parents and grandparents, who, apart from speaking about risks and disasters that had happened locally

such as forest fires, related memories of the traumatic and pivotal Battle of the Ebro in the Spanish Civil War. This provoked a big debate within the CUIDAR group. For half of the children, the Civil War was the perfect local case to focus on, opening up discussions about conflict-as-disaster, leading to discussions about conflict prevention, which went on to become an important theme for this group.

> 'I vote for the Civil War because many people come and always talk about fires, but nobody has ever opted for the Civil War, they have never told us information about this and I think it's a good time to learn a little about it and understand the suffering that many people experienced.' (Gabriel, 11 years old, Gandesa, Spain)

> 'It is the disaster that has had most impact on Gandesa and we could get a lot of information on the subject.' (Anna, 11 years old, Gandesa, Spain)

Intergenerational exchanges and sharing of memories about disaster can be effective in encouraging participation, and such exchanges link strongly with recognition of children as citizens. Intergenerational practices can serve to raise awareness about risks, especially those hazards that may materialise less frequently. Working across generations and age groups can also help children expand their knowledge of their neighbourhoods, environments and landscapes, for example passing on specific knowledge about highly localised places that have flooded in the past. Such approaches also introduce a sense of temporality into what counts as disaster. This reveals the before, during and after of disasters, as important and interconnected phases of disaster, and this can promote discussion about prevention and forms of resilience. This sense of temporality implicit in the sharing of memories of extreme events has been explored extensively by disaster sociologist, Kai Erikson (1994), who argued persuasively that the 'Aristolelian rules of plot' (a distinct beginning, middle and end to any story) get strangely mangled in disasters. Sense of time gets disrupted in disasters especially where there is traumatic experience. Time becomes measured not by clocks, but by the disaster itself, by notions of before and after distress.

Intergenerational exchanges may also be key to challenging one of the pervasive prejudices about children and young people, in which they are portrayed as mostly self-centred and uninterested in other social groups. By contrast, we found that children have a strong interest in sharing memories and learning from other age groups, as they are

highly aware and concerned about their families, neighbours and the groups they perceive as having distinct vulnerabilities. Fothergill and Peek (2015) also show this from their extensive work with children in the long recovery from the New Orleans floods: children demonstrated eagerness to help care for their communities. A key step, then, in building this Framework has been to draw on such exchanges and to underline the need for adding a more communitarian 'touch' to DRM.

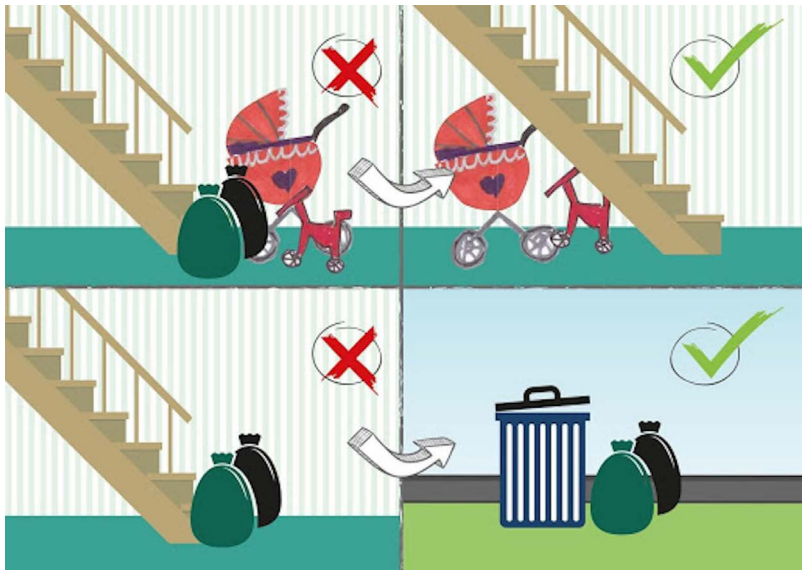
For example, in Concordia, Italy, the young people explored their own memories of the 2012 Emilia Romagna earthquake, producing a video about the destruction in order to challenge policy-makers about justice issues related to the town's reconstruction work. They told the adult stakeholders about how they missed their old school, the theatre and the church. They had to go to school in a temporary building, which they argued was inferior to their old one. Memories of particular local places were important to them culturally, and they felt left out of decisions about reconstruction. This links strongly with research in disaster studies, which has shown that decisions about what is reconstructed after disaster send a powerful message about what is valued in/by that society. This is an aspect of disaster recovery that links strongly with memory and intergenerational relations (DeMond and Rivera, 2010; Cox and Perry, 2011).

Similarly, other groups working with CUIDAR chose to map their local area, creating situated timelines to understand the range of existing risks, before choosing which ones to research more closely. In Glasgow, Scotland, the young people living in densely populated tenement blocks expressed concern about fire risk and about older family members whose first language was not English and who might not understand safety information (see Figure 4.3). In developing a fire prevention resource that expressed situated risks and risk reduction solely through pictures, they were caring for, teaching and protecting their older family members and neighbours.

As the main facilitator of the Glasgow work acknowledged:

> 'It's been such a pleasure to have been involved in this, truly participatory work. I learned so much from the children I worked with and they amazed their teachers when they presented their work and views confidently in English, something that nobody would have thought possible at the start. Of course literacy is so much more than reading and writing, and CUIDAR allowed us to adapt the session plans to move away from the written word. We have some future firefighters and MPs too!' (Steffi Keir, Save the Children, Scotland)

Figure 4.3: Children's illustration about safe exits from buildings in multiple occupation in case of fire



In an example of reciprocal benefit, adults' specific cultural and linguistic needs were compensated for by children's perceptive identification of risks, but older people's experience also enhanced young people's knowledge and understanding. As Brockie and Miller (2017) showed in their study following the 2011 and 2013 floods in Queensland, Australia, older people utilise previous experiences when deciding how to respond, and they also share this trusted knowledge with other locals.

Communicate and explain risks carefully with children and young people

In the 22 CUIDAR MLEs, children's knowledge and perspectives about risk became visible to disaster management professionals and stakeholders. It can be seen from our film, 'Transforming disaster planning – A child-centred approach', that co-working with significant adults was very important for the children and young people as this allowed them to see evidence of mutual interest. The film shows a growing mutual respect between adults and children. When discussing and finding common solutions with stakeholders, the young people came to realise how much the CUIDAR process had enhanced their knowledge and their communication skills. They realised that much

of what experts, civil protection officials and others were saying about preparedness and mitigation was in fact familiar to them, but now they could make their own contributions.

How did this come about? We found that the avoidance of formal, plenary settings helped to support the sharing of knowledge between adults and young people, and it was important to allow the children to choose their own roles, helping to develop equal exchange with adults. The lack of child-friendly inclusive materials, planning processes and communication strategies in DRM was observed in every location. This showed the need for improvement in stakeholders' capacity to involve children, and beyond that, to communicate with the general population. As can be seen from the film, young people felt empowered by organising and leading these events and were able to interact with adults as peers, discussing topics on which they, too, had some knowledge or expertise. The children contributed their advice on what methods and services would be appropriate for them and their peers, outlining what would work and what would not, suggesting ways they could contribute to preparedness, response and resilience-building. This set up a positive, equalising foundation for further collaboration and co-design, building partnerships that had great potential to strengthen the work of the professionals and services, as well as the resilience and awareness of the young people.

The children told us they were concerned about the quality and reliability of information that was circulated before, during and after disasters and emergencies. The group in Lorca, Spain, where children's memories of the earthquake were still alive, spoke of the need to counteract rumour mongering and how to get messages through to sections of the population that may be outside of mainstream channels and networks, particularly very young children and elderly people:

> 'It is very important to know the safe roads and places to get to the meeting points, and learn to distinguish between official information and rumours during the crisis.' (Aitana, 17 years old, Lorca, Spain, 2017)

> 'If we are not sure, there is no need to pay attention to the people who are saying that there will be another earthquake … you have to ask him/her: who told you? From where you got the information? Because there are many people who lie.' (Imane, 16 years old, Lorca, Spain, 2017)

This concern is also accompanied by a clear wish to participate and play a more active role, sometimes a central role, in information and communication activities.

Briony Towers' research with children on bushfire hazards employed 'draw and write' techniques to enhance children's communication abilities (Towers, 2015). She found that while their knowledge was often characterised by gaps and misconceptions, they demonstrated a capacity for understanding the fundamental principles of emergency response, particularly when they had been involved in bushfire planning within their household. In the aftermath of what has become known as 'Black Saturday', where bushfires burned 450,000 hectares of Victorian bushland, killing 173 people (including 27 children) and destroying more than 2,000 homes, we know that where children are included in discussions about risk they show a capacity for serious engagement in emergency planning. Since this disaster, it was decided that bushfire education be made a formal part of the Australian national curriculum, but Towers has argued that, for this to be effective, children's existing knowledge and perceptions of the risks must be accounted for in designing such programmes. This involves moving away from the attitude that some topics are too frightening or are not suitable for children, to finding ways to engage them meaningfully, for their own and their families' safety.

Teenagers in particular perceive themselves as a group that is especially qualified to help improve communication in emergency and disaster situations (see Figure 4.4), by helping to explain risks to other children and adults, designing awareness-raising campaigns, reappraising safety materials and emergency plans, fostering and leading mutual support spaces or playing an active role in the social media they use most (especially YouTube and Instagram) (see Figure 4.5). We argue that the keen interest and communicative ability shown by children and young people should provide a productive entry point for co-working with professionals and policy-makers. Such co-working offers the possibility of conceiving a resilience model that is based on fruitful interaction between technologies, communication and young people who are eager to be a part of it:

> [Preparedness] [i]nformation should be explained simply, without much text, with many more images … the expert must put the content but we can play a more active role, make proposals, help with our social networks, contribute with our own experiences. (Collective proposal from the communication subgroup, 14- to 15-year-olds, MLE, Sant Celoni, Spain)

Figure 4.4: Tweet resulting from flood awareness workshop with children in Hull, UK

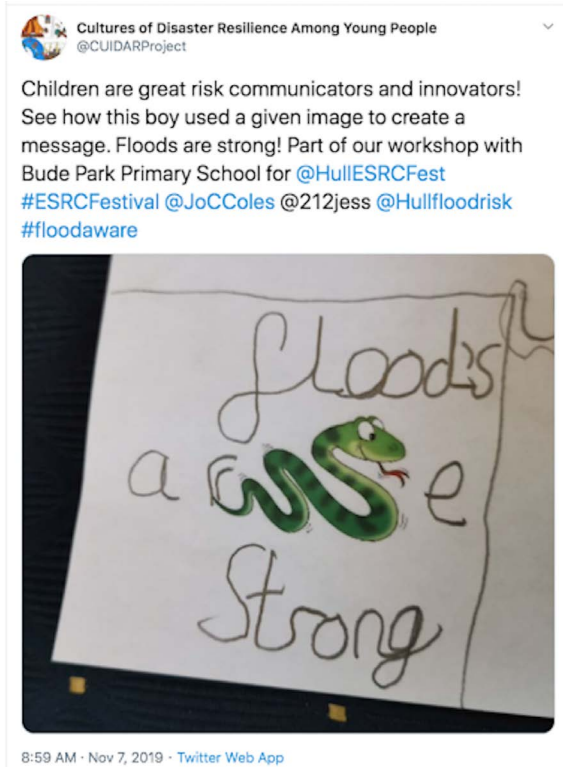


Figure 4.5: Picture from a young participant reporting on the development of the Dialogue in Gandesa, Spain

Build and rely on more diversified networks of children's 'allies'

The need for more children to learn (more) about emergencies and risk in school-based settings was clearly acknowledged by participants across several sites. However, while schools are central and common to children's lives in Europe and can be important sites of DRR work, they can also serve to limit children's participation. Additionally, as the Scoping Review shows, content about risk education and emergencies is only beginning to emerge in the majority of formal education curricula. Generally, this type of information is encountered in community settings, or on occasional visits of civil protection and emergency officers to schools, who rarely engage in any in-depth dialogue with the children.

As DRR aims to reduce the social vulnerabilities of communities to these sorts of events, a collective and multi-institutional network of actors that reaches outside schools is crucial. First, this is because disaster risk education is best communicated through action-based learning (Rashid et al, 2016). Second, as Towers et al (2014) show for the Australian context, support and engagement from a number of public actors is needed to concretise some of the children's ideas. For instance, the involvement of adults, such as parents, is critical to turn children's knowledge into practice, and also to encourage their participation in such activities.

Engaging diverse actors in CUIDAR was an incremental process. We initially introduced the project to local policy DRM personnel, inviting them to participate, either by being interviewed by the children or by allowing the children to visit their headquarters. We kept that connection strong by sending them information about how the project unfolded. Later we sensitised stakeholders to participate in the MLE approach, explaining to them how the meetings and discussions would take place. The MLE experience was pivotal as some of the invitees had never engaged in a dialogue of this nature with children:

> 'These kinds of activities are interesting so we can know how young people access the information and gain some clues about how we can improve our communication strategies.' (Civil protection officer, Albufeira, Portugal)

This enlarged engagement process was amplified during the National Policy Debates. If, during the MLEs, the children and stakeholders

had the opportunity to exchange points of view departing from an expert base and on a local scale, the goal of the National Policy Debates was to reach out to a wider public audience who had not yet been sensitised to the possibility of children's participation. Across all five countries, these events gathered together professionals from civil protection and emergency, from education and social services, and from NGOs. While these actors and stakeholders may have different interests, the events provided an opportunity for them to meet and explore forms of collaboration:

> 'The event was a great opportunity to learn and enrich our knowledge about children and children with disabilities and reflect on our own role in order to enhance their access and participation in activities related with issues of disaster risk reduction.' (Disaster professional, National Policy Debate, Greece)

These debates, attended by more than 500 children, were transformational for some of those present, leading some stakeholders to consider consulting with children in the future to design educational interventions. Recognition of children and young people's lived experiences and knowledge was a strong outcome of these high-level policy dialogues. In some cases, the commitments made during the events bore fruit, such as implementing participatory approaches in emergency education in Italy or improving forest fire prevention and education in Spain. As Reed et al (2018) noticed, engagement can facilitate learning and changes in attitudes and values among participants, due to the exchange of multiple sources of knowledge and to the direct attachment of those in power to implement change, who see the outcomes as relevant and reflecting their views. We saw how children themselves were also transformed by these interactions. Luca, 16 years old, from Ancona, explained the effect that these events had on him and his group:

> 'This experience made us grow and put us in contact with the adult world that sometimes can appear weird for us, but we were able to work very well together and build very interesting things together. We felt important, credible and that adults trust us…. This can maybe a step to include children's voices into the policies that concern us and a starting point for the spread of a culture of children's participation that is not so commonly widespread in our society.'

Partnerships in DRR bring benefits to children and their communities, as they increase cohesion and develop new forms of citizenship through collective deliberation. The possible solutions put forward by children constitute evidence that they are a valuable, untapped resource for addressing problems that stakeholders find intractable. Also, stakeholders remarked that to implement changes such as adopting a participatory approach, they also need to find new ways of collaborating, sharing knowledge, skills and good practices and making these kinds of initiatives sustainable. This might involve creating new networks: between different sectors and types of expertise, between those involved in DRM and children and young people, and between public and private sector actors and researchers.

Recognise the need to work with emotions with children and young people

We learned about the importance of feelings and emotions in how children and young people experience and perceive disasters. In our work in all partner countries, emotions such as fear and anxiety, but also hope and trust, were widely expressed by the children. Also, first responders and practitioners frequently talked about experiencing fear around extreme events. This created a space of mutual recognition that facilitated connections and meaningful communication between the children and adults in this context. Feelings and emotions were a way to acknowledge and articulate affects, voices and capacities that are often neglected or disregarded. Here, a participant recalls her initial experience of the 2011 earthquake in Lorca:

> 'My brothers, who were younger than me, tried to calm me. Then my mother came and we went into the street when the second tremor happened. The glass panes from the street started to fall on top of us. I was really afraid then. I had an image of the earthquake, like it was a monster to me. I was always afraid to go indoors at home.' (Chaimae, 17 years old, Lorca, Spain)

Young participants from very different age groups taking part in an earlier study[3] recall their flood experience and how they continue to feel about it:

> 'I didn't know there would be a flood so all my toys were on the floor and stuff, and I had really bad dreams about it.

> I just feel scared 'cos I don't want it to flood again.' (Martha, 6 years old, St Michaels on Wyre, Lancashire, UK)

> 'I'm just kind of like, worried it's going to happen again this year.… I suppose I'm going to worry every year though. Even if it doesn't happen, we're still going to worry.' (Jodi, 14 years old, Staines Upon Thames, UK)

Through a variety of activities, the children could express their feelings about disasters. In particular, they focused on the importance and pervasiveness of fear. However, the children working with the CUIDAR project told us they wanted to communicate the message that people can lessen their fear through 'acquiring knowledge and taking action', together with others:

> 'We have no information about what we should do or where we should go if we are at home or in the street if there's an earthquake because there is a lack of emotional education.' (Aitana, 17 years old, Lorca, Spain)

Although emotions and feelings are not always recognised immediately by professionals, parents and adults in general, they play a fundamental role in building meaning (Walker et al, 2012), developing risk perception, creating self-reliance and fostering decision-making among children and young people. Therefore, it is essential that this dimension be acknowledged, both individually and collectively, and developed by everyone who works in DRM and seeks greater involvement of children and young people:

> 'It's very interesting that they have chosen the topic of how to manage fear, and I have realised that the population is not prepared: we need to communicate more effectively because the way we have been doing it – leaflets – does not work.' (Sergio Delgado, Deputy Director of Civil Protection, Barcelona, Spain)

Indeed, these findings need to be shared with disaster professionals, and should be incorporated into their training, practice and forms of communication. They also need to be shared with schools, given their importance in the provision of spaces and activities for individual and collective processing of feelings and emotions (Mutch, 2013; Walker et al, 2012).

> 'Listening to them, I have realised that we must work on more effective preventive policies, especially from an emotional point of view. We organise many drills, but they are aimed at more technical parts, and we don't internalise those. If we do not work on emotions from preventive behaviour, it will be very difficult for children or adults to react in the way they should react.' (Maria Antonia, psychologist, Lorca, Spain)

But how can managing emotions such as fear and anxiety in an emergency be made central to DRM? In our Dialogues, the children and young people suggested that psychologists and counsellors should give talks about this topic in schools in a child-friendly or interactive way such as role-playing activities, simulations and drills, using real-life or virtual reality tools. 'Risk experts' should explain the steps being taken to bring risk under control. If an incident or accident takes place, support should be given to children and young people, but also to adults, particularly teachers. The children from Lorca made this clear after their experience during the 2011 earthquake in specific sessions to deal with the fear they had experienced. This should include advice about ways to deal with fear in case of emergency, and should be contained within key documents such as school plans. If emergency plans recognise that fear is normal and shared, everybody will benefit, not just children.

Finally, finding ways to build resilience appears crucial to empower children and improve their management of fear. As Cox et al (2017) show, children and young people experience emotional support through empathetic encounters with adults, including parents and other caregivers and teachers, as it is important to find someone 'being there' and offering guidance and trust. However, while receiving support from adults was an important theme, so, too, was the importance of receiving emotional support from peers. Teenagers in Lorca, for instance, spoke of the importance of peer groups to regain a sense of safety and stability after the 2011 earthquake, emphasising the role of companionship and friendship, in addition to that within schools or families, in developing networks and spaces of self-confidence, resilience and mutual support. Being with others, and experiencing a shared sense of belonging and communality can have a strong and beneficial impact on young people, empowering them, but also creating spaces of emotional release, solidarity and cooperation (Bokszczanin, 2012).

So, for children and young people, managing emotions and feelings are key to understanding and preparing oneself, acting in, and caring

for others in a disaster. For them, knowing, acknowledging and understanding emotions are inextricably linked with self-control, a feeling of safety and resilience.

Recognise that children and young people may feel vulnerable in public spaces

While CUIDAR demonstrated children's skills and capacities to contribute to DRM, it needs to be recognised that young people can have particular vulnerabilities in the event of a disaster. We found from our Scoping Review work (see Chapter 1) that some studies reported difficulties in recruiting 14- to 18-year-olds. Most programmes and actions in the CUIDAR partner countries – and those in international literature and other EU projects – are addressed to children between 8 and 14 years old. This makes very young children a highly vulnerable group, as very young infants and parents of infants are rarely considered in disaster risk management policy (Gribble, 2013). But this also makes teenagers over 15 a rather invisible and neglected group:

> 'Children are always taken into account because they are more vulnerable, but this does not happen with young people and adolescents because they do not consider us so vulnerable. But I think we should also get some attention.' (Aitana, 17 years old, Lorca, Spain)

In consulting with young people directly, we learned how productive and strategic it is to work with teenagers in the field of disasters. Working with two different groups in Spain, for example, in Lorca and Sant Celoni, allowed us to identify the lack of preparedness measures in place for public spaces. For instance, the young people told us one of their main concerns is what to do if an emergency takes place when they are in a public space such as a street or square and when they are 'alone', that is, not accompanied by an adult, and away from home or school or places where they, or 'someone', usually knows what to do.

In different ways, the same problem also came up in at least two other scenarios. In Gandesa, a rural area of Catalonia, the 12-year-old children also admitted they were afraid of being alone in an emergency. They imagined themselves being in the street, playing, when faced with a forest fire and not knowing what to do. They felt they had little information about how to face these situations, particularly how to manage fear. In Sant Celoni, the 14-year-olds also emphasised fear and uncertainty in the event of a chemical accident (the risk they

had chosen to work on). In particular, they were afraid of 'freezing', becoming paralysed by fear if the accident were to take place when they were not at home or at school:

> 'What happens when we are alone and we do not know where to go, we don't know who to call or what to do?… I get scared if I am alone or with my friends and I go around the town or the forest.' (Marta, 12 years old, Gandesa, Spain)

So, interestingly, the children and young people pointed to important preparedness blind spots. They mentioned the importance of a variety of places that have received less attention, such as streets, squares, local parks or community centres (see Cox et al, 2017). They talked about the importance of these spaces in shaping identities, developing a sense of belonging and also creating fears and exclusions (Gough and Franch, 2005; Rodó-de Zárate, 2010).

Indeed, following the 'Problem Tree' technique (Kumar, 2002), young people from Lorca explored this concern about public spaces further:

- Some of the *causes* added to Lorca's analysis were: lack of knowledge, awareness and communication; the complexity of multi-hazard situations with different self-protection measures; lack of regular drills; or the feeling that it is 'hard to tell the truth' to adolescents and to understand multiple behavioural reactions.
- Some of the *consequences* added were not feeling safe in many spaces; multiple and amplified fears; or chaos.
- Moreover, some possible *solutions* emerged during the process, such as: more training, information, knowledge and learning experiences; more drills; use of virtual reality tools; activities for recognising risks (study tour, leisure activities); and young people's empowerment.

As the young people made clear, they want more knowledge and information about how to deal with emergencies in public spaces, but they don't want to encourage an over-regulation and securitisation of such spaces. They want to keep these as spaces of autonomy, companionship and self-regulation. In this way, they claim to be recognised as important actors defining, caring and negotiating public spaces (Thomas et al, 2018).

CUIDAR has shown that young people's relationship with their environment is particularly important for DRM. The next chapter details how participants were invited to think closely about where

they lived; using drawings, aerial photographs and 3D shapes, they enjoyed making representations of their environment. The young people would go around their local area noting particular features such as places they liked to congregate or places they found hazardous. This has the effect of strengthening children's spatial knowledge and allowing them then to re-draw their environment according to their own interests and needs. In this way, their observation skills were enhanced and this underpinned some of the recommendations they were then able to make for emergency planners, for example.

Above all, the young people want to play a more active role and share responsibility for managing their own safety and that of their communities. As we said at the start of this chapter, our Framework is an open document, the steps do not need to be followed in any particular order, but all steps are integral to creating caring, effective and inclusive DRM plans that will benefit neighbourhoods, communities and societies as a whole.

Notes

1 CUIDAR participating countries made their own films, apart from Greece, and then each contributed to one international piece. All can be seen at: www.lancaster.ac.uk/cuidar/en/cuidar-films-resources/

2 See www.lancaster.ac.uk/cuidar/en

3 See www.lancaster.ac.uk/floodrecovery

5

Participatory tools for disaster risk management with children and young people

Jussara Rowland, Miriam Arenas, Flaminia Cordani, Anna Grisi, Magda Nikolaraizi, Maria Papazafiri, Alison Lloyd Williams, Aya Goto and Amanda Bingley

Introduction

This chapter explores the tools and methods used to include children's voices in disaster risk management (DRM) that we found to be effective during the different stages of the CUIDAR project. Examples include creative and artistic methods such as drawing, participatory mapping, photovoice, active thinking and planning, storytelling, and video and performance art. In working with these tools, our aim was to inform and foster communication and informal learning, and give more value to the local and grounded knowledges of children and young people, their families and communities, suggesting practical ways of promoting intergenerational learning. Policy-makers and practitioners can use these tools, methods and examples for inspiration, and to promote more child-centred disaster management and civil protection in Europe and beyond.

Specific tools were found to be useful to involve children and young people in the different towns, cities and countries where we worked. These were adapted locally to foster participants' interest and capacity through the iterations of our participatory project design: 'to discover and ask questions', 'to investigate and take action' and 'to share ideas and advocate', as detailed in Chapters 2 and 3. First, we describe some of these tools and resources used in the Dialogues with Children, illustrating their specificity and use. Then we address questions related to the ethics of using participatory approaches, and reflect on our experience when working with children and young people in this particular domain.

Child-friendly tools and resources

If the aim is to promote more inclusive DRM, what methods are best suited to allow children to influence the direction of a project or a discussion? Since the 1990s, interest in working with children and young people in participatory action projects has led to the development and use of what are often described as 'child-friendly' methods. These include a variety of activities, dynamics and technologies that respect and accommodate children and young people's agency and capabilities, and their diverse ways of engaging and participating (Coyne and Carter, 2018). Such approaches can put children's perspectives at the centre of a project and then empower them to enter into the adultist framing of disaster management as experts in their own right, drawing from their own realities.

It is not because children lack competence to deal with 'standard methods' (Groundwater-Smith et al, 2014) or because child-friendly methods are a form of expression closer to 'children's issues' (Varvantakis et al, 2019) that these are advocated. These approaches are useful because methods should adjust to their publics, and children, just like adults, have specific needs and interests to be taken into account. This applies not only for projects involving children and young people, but also for any participatory project.

Creative tools and resources are not in themselves participatory. They become participatory when included in methodologies that consider children as experts in their own lives and create the opportunity for them to engage as active participants and researchers (Coyne and Carter, 2018). Child-friendly methods and participatory tools can be used to work to produce change and allow children to be co-creators of meaning and knowledge, but they also have to be flexible enough to include children's diverse views and capabilities. When working with children it is important to allow for creativity, remix and mess (Stirling and Yamada-Rice, 2015), and to give space for co-creation, points we explore below when discussing ethical issues around participation. Participatory tools should, in fact, allow children to take greater control of the process, promote dialogue and create space for their preferences and choices. As we have stressed in previous chapters, children are not a homogenous group. They have different characteristics that vary within context and settings. Not all children engage with these tools in the same way or have the same access to resources and technologies. In this sense, it is relevant to focus on the experience and understandings particular children bring to the project to overcome possible differences in 'participatory capital' related to

poverty, class, disability and power relations (Groundwater-Smith et al, 2014; Mitchell and Borchard, 2014).

Creative and innovative methods, with interactive and visual components, can be fun and engaging and can help to maintain participants' enjoyment, while at the same time facilitating their expression and ability to communicate in non-verbal languages (Punch, 2002). They can help sustain interest over time, but they also allow children to engage in inventive and imaginative processes, and to become producers of visual and creative artefacts that help them express what is meaningful to them: 'The aim is to facilitate reflection, debate, argument, dissent and consensus, to stimulate the articulation of multiple voices and positions, and, through the process, to lay the foundations for empowerment' (Veale, 2005: 254).

Addressing participatory action research in the field of children and disasters, Tanner and Seballos (2012) stress the importance of an engagement model underpinned by five principles: relevance, creativity, participation, flexibility and sustainability. Relevance here means that projects and initiatives should be meaningful to participants and are informed by their cultural norms and age range. Creativity implies resources should generate a lively and fun environment to keep children motivated, but at the same time be comfortable. Participation involves children being able to shape and change the process and the outputs of the project based on their needs and insights. Flexibility is important to ensure methods respond to children's needs and interests and support their learning and reflections. And finally, sustainability matters because participatory projects should be backed by an 'enabling environment that supports the participants' ability to put new knowledge and improved strategies into action' (Tanner and Seballos, 2012: 69).

To achieve this goal the CUIDAR teams adjusted the proposed guidelines, adapted available tools and developed new ones, taking into account children's specificities and context, but also their needs and interests. As we have seen in Chapters 2 and 3, the children were not passive in this process: throughout the three stages of the Dialogues (discover and ask questions; investigate and take action; share ideas and advocate) and the Mutual Learning Exercises (MLEs), the children engaged proactively in choosing and shaping the tools used to think, reflect, engage and communicate with their peers and relevant stakeholders. Drawing, 3D models, assessment tools, ranking exercises, photography, community mapping, public performances and digital platforms, among others, were essential methods in this process.

Our experience of the Dialogues and MLEs allowed us to verify these approaches were effective strategies to engage people and

foster community-building and sense-making of DRM. As seen in Chapter 1, traditional risk preparedness actions tend to be mostly instructional, designed and implemented by experts and professionals and based on technical language which is difficult to adapt to plain language and engaging methods.

The creative and participatory methods used during the Dialogues and MLEs facilitated the collection, sharing and communication between the children and adults. The opportunity for asking, thinking, remembering and sharing knowledge meant that new and old stories about the past and present in the community emerged, opportunities for intergenerational dialogue opened up, and new possible futures based on 'lessons learned' from the past were created. They also allowed the children to develop understandings about the subject, reflect on their knowledge, share their stories and reach their audience. Assessment activities, for example, allowed them to make sense of their prior knowledge and define their priorities. Community maps helped them figure out the magnitude of things and strengthen their knowledge about their local contexts. Art performances were central to explore and express experience and convey ideas. All these activities helped the children to make sense of their role in DRM and allowed adults to see the environment through the children's eyes, and appreciate their concerns about their families, friends and communities.

Below we explore a range of tools and resources used during the CUIDAR project. For reasons of systematisation, they are organised by different methods, based on their characteristics and aims. We address their specificities and give visibility to the different ways these have been used by researchers and practitioners around the world to work for and with children in disaster and risk-related projects. We exemplify them with case studies from CUIDAR, to offer insights about how these tools can be used and adapted in practice. These examples describe not only what worked with the children, but also what they preferred and chose to work with. The case studies illustrate the process through which the children produced meaning on the subject of their participation in DRM, and highlight the forms of representation, communication and engagement they used to achieve that goal.

Art-based methods: drawings, storyboards and 3D models

These methods use the tenets of the creative arts to promote children's engagement in participatory projects. These involve the creation of artefacts like drawings, storyboards, 3D models and collages to co-construct knowledge and communicate ideas. They are accessible

to the general public and can be emotionally and politically evocative for different purposes and in different contexts (Chilton and Leavy, 2014). Drawing, in particular, has been widely used in projects involving children and young people and is useful because: it is familiar to children; it is accessible in cases of low levels of literacy; and it can be undertaken autonomously without the help of adults (Mitchell, 2006). In this sense, it allows children to express themselves through a mode of communication that they usually find agreeable and fun (Mitchell, 2006; Elden, 2013). Because it is familiar and adaptable, drawing can be incorporated into different methods and for different purposes, in all phases of a project. It is frequently used in child-led participatory initiatives since it can help to stimulate creative thinking about what participants want to achieve and how to achieve it (Molina et al, 2009). Drawing has been used in numerous projects to assist children to articulate their perceptions and knowledge about risk and disaster (Rowland et al, 2017; Ribeiro and Silva, 2019).

Storyboards and comics are another useful resource in this domain. Like single drawings, they are accessible to children with different literacy levels, but by incorporating creative storytelling, they also allow children to include themselves (or others) in a specific narrative to better illustrate their stories and show their perspectives. They were used, for example, by children from Hull (UK) to represent their 'flood journey' and the disruptions the devastating floods in 2007 brought to their lives (Walker et al, 2012; Whittle et al, 2012). Likewise, 3D models, made with sand, clay or found materials, can be used by children and young people to illustrate their stories and articulate their experiences and opinions, but also to share their ideas with wider audiences (Bingley and Milligan, 2007; Mort et al, 2018b).

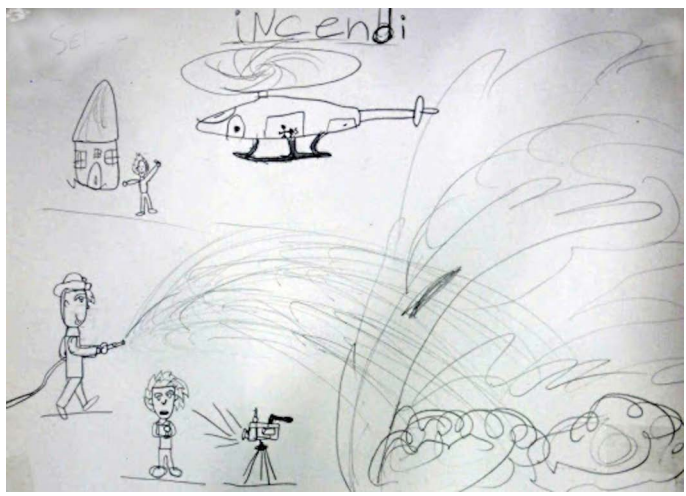
For CUIDAR, drawing and 3D modelling were used together to enable the children, especially the younger ones, to express themselves. Drawing was used to articulate ideas about disaster, to illustrate their communities and environments, to depict their thoughts and reflections on the subject and to communicate messages to adults during the different phases of the project. 3D modelling was found particularly relevant in the case of Dialogues in Greece, which involved children with vision disabilities (Nikolaraizi et al, under review).

Spain: drawing as a tool to help younger children to articulate their ideas

This was the primary strategy used with the younger group of children (aged 9–10) to facilitate the communication and articulation of their ideas about

complex topics during the Dialogues. First it was used to explore their ideas about hazard, risk and disaster. But the strategy was later included in other activities with this group: to help them focus and relax after discussions; to make a group decision; and to offer individual tasks to those who did not like or felt less competent to speak up, or to help the non-verbal expression of ideas and feelings. This group also made a comic to analyse the different phases of their chosen topic (for example, before, during and after wildfires), to help them identify the actors involved in each step and think about ways to improve how wildfires are dealt with (see Figure 5.1). Drawings were also the main strategy to share their ideas with the experts at the beginning of their MLE. The children also used drawings to summarise their conclusions that same day.

Figure 5.1: Drawing showing the actors involved during a wildfire (Rafael, 9 years old, Barcelona, Spain)



Portugal: illustrating risk-reducing measures through drawings and storyboards

Children in Albufeira devised a set of risk reduction measures that could be implemented before, during and after floods in three different contexts: at home, at school and in the city. When deciding how to communicate these ideas, drawing was their first choice. Each child illustrated a chosen risk reduction measure and then presented it in a poster format at the MLE. This specific group of children had some linguistic barriers: some spoke little Portuguese, while others had specific learning disabilities, and drawing helped them express their views and overcome those barriers. A group of young people in Lisbon also relied on drawings to share their messages, opting to illustrate the prevention measures they devised through a comic storyboard. The storyboard showed a girl watching

TV news about the heat wave and then buying water at the supermarket, taking a cold shower, and telling a friend to avoid sugary drinks. In doing so, they not only shared their message with their audiences; they also drew people like them (teenagers) as active protagonists of the story (see Figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2: Comic storyboard about heat waves (teenagers from Lisbon, Portugal)

Greece: using 3D models and tactile materials with children with vision disabilities

3D modelling facilitated discussion about disasters with specific disabilities so that the Dialogues were accessible to them. For example, regarding the sensory needs of children with vision impairments and multiple disabilities, facilitators used games with sounds of different hazards and 3D models that children could touch and explore (for example, a volcano model), tactile and enlarged materials or texts in Braille (see Figure 5.3). The definition of the main concepts around the topic was done by choosing from words pre-selected by the facilitators. After a discussion in-group, the children gradually selected the words connected to

Figure 5.3: Models and tactile materials from Dialogues with visually impaired children, Greece

their definition of disasters, and also identified others to build a vocabulary bank. Through the discussions, it became apparent that their knowledge about disasters was mainly influenced by TV news or film, but also by educational programmes implemented in Greek schools on earthquakes. Some children interpreted the notion of disaster as something local, such as family or work environment, whereas others linked the notion of disaster to a broader context, more open and abstract, such as a country or a continent (Nikolaraizi et al, under review).

Assessment methods: critical thinking, planning and risk ranking exercises

These refer to tools that help participants collect, reflect on and organise information about an issue or event. This can include many types of activities and dynamics, often with a visual and/or interactive component. What makes these activities different from others is that they allow children to work on their existing knowledge and organise their ideas and information in a structured way.

One specific type of assessment tool is risk ranking. This involves activities that allow participants to identify and prioritise issues and chronological timelines (Molina et al, 2009). It prompts participants to move their thinking from general knowledge of disasters to a more locally oriented discussion. It involves examining the disasters that could happen in their community, ranking them in terms of impact, and reflecting on the impact such events could have on them (Molina et al, 2009). Ranking exercises have been used to produce historical calendars, risk diagrams and timelines. As such they can help promote better historical understanding of the most relevant events in the community's experience and reconstruct the past to better understand the present in relation to disaster risk.

Other tools that help construct, organise and visualise meaning that have been used in participatory projects with children and young people are diagrams (Punch, 2002; Selby and Kagawa, 2012), problem trees (Selby and Kagawa, 2012) or games (Molina et al, 2009; Yamori, 2010). Diagrams are mostly used to collect, organise and compare information. They can be used, for example, to explore children's mobility and physical movement within and outside their community (Punch, 2002), or to deepen children's ideas about stakeholders by representing them on a map, using smaller and larger circles (Molina et al, 2009).

Such resources were used throughout the CUIDAR project. These were useful to help the children research and organise

information and make sense of their prior knowledge about disasters and their communities during the CUIDAR Dialogues. The tools were also essential to help the children identify problems, devise solutions, identify target audiences and communicate their ideas in a structured way.

Spain: helping the children to decide

All groups in Spain had a session in the Dialogues devoted to building a collective chronological timeline of past disasters in their local context. The younger children asked their families and/or neighbours about this and then shared what they found out with the group. Older participants in Sant Celoni explored a selection of news about past events. In some cases, a local expert was invited to the session, to help them build that collective timeline bringing back memories (an activist in Barcelona and a local police officer in Sant Celoni). The goal was to decide which risk they wanted to prioritise, based on the information they had in the timeline. This exercise became more difficult with the Gandesa group, which made great efforts to collect data from their families. For them, this became very emotional, and it was hard to decide among the three main risks or disasters they had identified in their research: the Civil War, wildfires and a nuclear accident. To help them prioritise and have a discussion, we built a tool where they could think about crucial questions related to these events (see Figure 5.4): What were the causes? Might this happen in the future in Gandesa?

Figure 5.4: Using a matrix to organise knowledge in Gandesa, Spain

	What are the causes?	**Is it likely to happen in Gandesa in the future/ Has it happened before?**	**What are/ were the damages in Gandesa?**	**In case it happens, who would intervene?**	**Any ideas on how it could be prevented?**
Civil war	Human politics	Not likely/It did happen	Casualties	Police	Talking and making agreements
Wildfires	Human cause or natural cause	There was a wildfire/It's likely	Burning growing areas	Firefighters	Cleaning the forest
Nuclear accidents	Human cause	It never happened/It's likely	Air pollution/ destruction of Gandesa	Scientists, firefighters, etc	Enhancing protection

Note: This is our own translation of the original document provided by the children.

Did this happen in the past? If it happens, who would be the main actors? Do you have any idea about ways of preventing it?

In the end they chose wildfires, based on the idea that it had not only happened in the past, but it was also quite likely to happen again in the future. Moreover, they felt more confident they could provide improvement measures in this case.

Portugal: risk assessment with a 'disaster wheel'

In Albufeira and Loures, teenagers used a 'disaster wheel' to understand risks associated with climate change. Using the tool, the groups rated eight disasters on a colour scale, according to their effects on four areas: impact in terms of mortality or injury, disruption of access to goods and services, damage to infrastructure, and impact on mobility. This allowed them to explore and reframe their own understandings of disaster impacts and discuss different kinds of risks. The teenagers then focused on the risk that climate change poses to their own city, adding this information to the centre of the wheel. This exercise, together with the information they gathered about historical weather-related disasters in their city, was essential for the following Dialogues sessions where both groups ended up selecting floods as the main risk to address (see Figure 5.5).

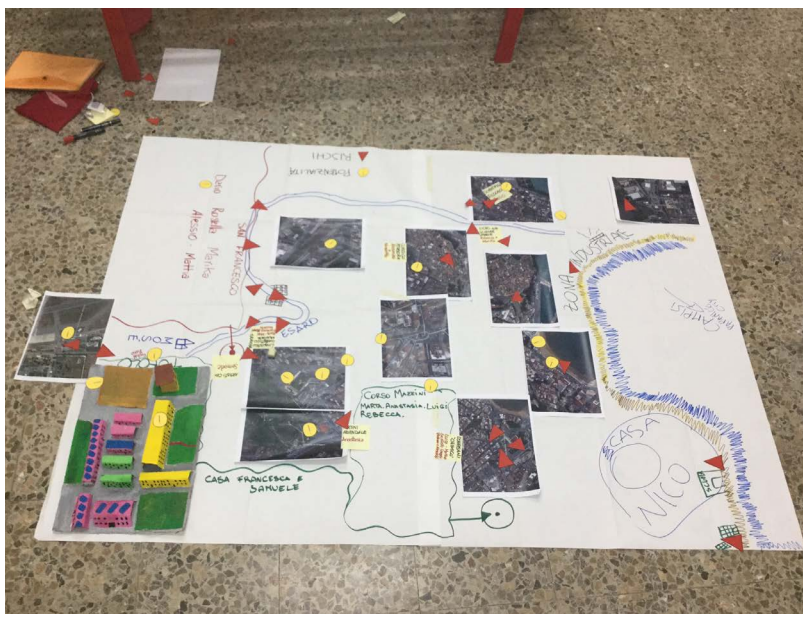
Figure 5.5: Working with the 'disaster wheel' in Albufeira, Portugal

Italy: a 'chronology of disasters'

The young people in Italy worked with historical calendars or disaster timelines. This was an opportunity to explore local changes in past and recent years, to focus on social, economic, environmental and industrial aspects, and to visualise different events, experiences and conditions. Taking this activity home, some children asked parents, relatives and friends about their perceptions of risk and how they prioritised these. They asked questions about disasters that had occurred within the community in the past and they carried out their own internet research. From the groups' experience, it emerged that the children and young people prioritised risks related to disasters they had experienced in the recent past or that they felt were more likely to happen. The effectiveness of this activity was amplified when representatives from the community, and especially older people, took part in the Dialogues to exchange their knowledge with children; many groups discovered events that had happened in their community which they had never heard of.

As an example, a group in Crotone discovered how the city infrastructure had been redesigned after a major flood in the 1960s (see Figure 5.6). Because of this, some neighbourhoods had disappeared, while others were built to host the displaced population, and many of the young people found that they were

Figure 5.6: Young people in Crotone, Italy, mapping their town and its potential hazards



living in 'new' neighbourhoods. As a result, they put together all the information they had found to create an infographic about the frequency and impact of the emergencies. They shared this with their peers at school, their families and their community throughout different local and national events.

Photo-based methods: photography and photovoice

Photo-based methods use and integrate images and include photography and photovoice, both of which are powerful tools for working in participatory projects with children and young people. Photovoice involves taking photographs of a specific location or a specific theme (Mitchell et al, 2017), which has a particular meaning for the participants. Photovoice has been used mostly to give voice to marginalised populations (Wang, 1999) and to engage participants in discussions about changes their communities need (Mitchell et al, 2017). It is often used to assess community risks and vulnerabilities and to allow local populations to visually record their perspectives and concerns. These methodologies were used, for example, in a multi-sited research project that involved young people in disaster-affected communities in Canada and the US (Peek et al, 2016). In Slave Lake, Canada, wildfires had affected almost one-third of the town's buildings and homes, and teenagers took photographs of their communities and used these as the basis for personal montages and for story creation focusing on the disaster and its enduring consequences (Fletcher et al, 2016).

In the CUIDAR Dialogues, photographs were mostly used during 'transect' walks (see below). These allow children to take pictures of relevant aspects of their location and community and identify vulnerable places. They were also used in the pledges young people made to the adults during the MLE and National Policy Debates, as a visual recording of their findings and ideas. This was the case, for example, in Loures, Portugal, where young people took pictures of their school to raise questions with relevant stakeholders during the MLE.

Portugal: using photographs to show school vulnerabilities

Teenagers in Loures decided to focus on the poor conditions of their school infrastructure, especially in terms of climate change-related risk, such as cold snaps, storms and floods. To share their ideas and illustrate their message, they

used photography and video. Using their mobile phones, they took photographs of the vulnerabilities they noticed around the school, and interviewed other students and staff about the harsh conditions they faced during heavy rain, storms or cold waves. With this material, they produced a PowerPoint presentation of their ideas and demands, later shown at the MLE to school stakeholders and local authorities (see Figure 5.7). The images showed gutters blocked with litter, holes in the path leading to the school entrance, the inadequate build of the

Figure 5.7: The presentation made at the Loures MLE, Portugal, including photographs of the school's poor conditions and interview video clips with members of the school community

playing field (that flooded in heavy rain), deficiencies in how school premises were maintained, and lack of heating in the classrooms. This gave rise to a debate among adult participants about responsibilities regarding conditions at school.

Spatial methods: transect walks and community mapping

Transect walks and community mapping have a long tradition in participatory and disaster risk reduction (DRR) research, especially with children and young people (Amsden and VanWynsberghe, 2005; Gaillard and Pangilinan, 2010; Mitchell et al, 2008; Molina et al, 2009). Transect walks are a participatory exercise where members of a community walk a path to observe and discuss different aspects of their surroundings. Community mapping is a visual and relational data-gathering technique that allows the collection and organisation of information, not only geographical information (Amsden and VanWynsberghe, 2005).

Transect walks and community mapping can be combined and are useful when working with children because they enable them to take the lead in research, allowing them to guide the exploration of their own environment. These techniques also allow the perceptions children have of their space and associated emotions and responses to be collected (Groundwater-Smith et al, 2014). In the project 'Meaningful Maps',[1] for example, researchers worked with the children to explore their ideas about their locality through maps. The aim was to find out what places matter to them, what places they value and their ideas about their environment. As can be seen in the CUIDAR international film,[2] for children, maps became a valuable way to communicate with others and to express ideas about the world. In DRR this tool is used mostly to enhance children's awareness of the relation between the environment and existing risks, and then to plan measures to prevent or reduce the identified risks. Typically, during this activity participants portray their community or neighbourhood from their own perspective and in their preferred manner, identifying important locations and landmarks, human and material resources but also the hazards, vulnerabilities and local capacities available.

During the CUIDAR Dialogues, some groups made community maps of their towns or neighbourhoods. In some cases, participants walked around their community or to a specific place to discover more details and complete the map. During the walk, the children took cameras, paper, pencils and stickers with them to note their observations,

and what they wanted to add to the community map. In some cases, photographs were laminated and then used to create the map. This activity helped children prioritise the risks and topics they wanted to explore further during the following sessions. The maps were revisited several times throughout the Dialogues, adding new details discovered during the sessions and from subsequent meetings with experts.

UK: a three-stage community mapping exercise

In Glasgow, Scotland, a community mapping exercise followed a three-step process, exploring: the meaning of risks in the community, what risks could look like, and which risks may apply to the community the children live in and which were less likely to occur. Those risks were represented as pictures, and the children were able to choose and discuss them and explore whether they might apply to their local area. In a second session, the children were given cameras and asked to find things that were risky and things that provided protection or safety, walking around the local community taking pictures. The children's perspectives revealed risks and safe spaces that the adults were not necessarily aware of. On the other hand, the children discovered signs and places in the local community that didn't yet make sense to them, and the walk enabled a sharing of knowledge. The locality is a long-standing migrant area of Glasgow with a mix of different cultural spaces, so, while the teacher knew about the locations of mosques and the role they play in their community, the children pointed out where their own community safe spaces were and where important members of their community lived, and they could talk about which places they, as children, would or wouldn't go.

In a follow-up session of the Dialogues, print-outs of the photographs and memories of the walk helped the construction of a large community map on flip charts. This allowed the children to make sense of what they had seen and to decide what they would include in their community map. It also gave them map-making skills, transferring an immersive experience into a 2D sketch. Based on the photographs and the map, the children talked about the different risks they'd identified and then focused on three major risks (derelict buildings, fire in multiple occupancy dwellings and illegal deposit of waste). After exploring the level of risk and its impact, the children unanimously decided to focus their attention on house fires in multiple occupancy dwellings.

Spain: creative maps

Groups from Barcelona, Gandesa and Sant Celoni created their own neighbourhood or city maps during the Dialogues (see Figure 5.8). The aim

Figure 5.8: Sant Celoni group (Spain) building their map

was to grasp the children's perceptions, knowledge and worries about the risks they had identified in the places in which they lived. To create the maps, in each location, the children worked in groups of four, each one with a different assignment. The first drew their neighbourhoods on large sheets of paper, taking into account housing areas, public spaces, forest areas, crop areas, industrial zones, roads, rivers, etc. The second group's task was to think about the locations exposed to the chosen hazard and the possible causes. They also chose icons to represent each of those causes, and drew them on white stickers. The third group had to think about and represent areas with increased vulnerability, locations where the hazard could generate severe damage – local vulnerability can be exacerbated by concentration of certain social groups (younger children, older people), other added hazards (petrol stations, excess traffic), and animals and objects of high value such as museums. Finally, the fourth group focused on the types of equipment and resources in the area that could be activated to respond to an emergency. This could include services (the police, fire service, ambulance service, civil protection, forestry agents, Red Cross), facilities (open air swimming pools, radio, television, health centres), safe meeting centres (for example, sports centres), as well as individuals with knowledge and resources (agricultural workers, volunteers, neighbours). All groups then shared the work done and agreed on where they should situate each of the stickers on the map, and why, adding anything else that might be relevant. This general methodology was adapted for each group, depending on their age and available time. In all cases, the map provided the children and young people's perspectives about: how the hazard was distributed in their village or neighbourhood; which areas were most at risk and why; and the location of the communities' assets and

capacities for reducing risks. In each session, a 'local expert' (civil protection officer, teacher, ambulance technician or local historian) helped the children and young people, in case they were uncertain or needed to alter the maps. The experts were, however, impressed by the accuracy of the maps, and the children themselves were surprised at how much they knew about their environment once they started to analyse it.

Performance-based methods: music, drama, theatre

Many projects that engage children and young children in DRR draw on performance-based methods, such as music, song, dance and drama (Gibbs et al, 2013; Mulyasari et al, 2015; Mort et al, 2016). These methods are based on the recognition that art-based work can develop practical and embodied knowledge, and that through this process new ideas and theories can be created (Gibbs et al, 2013). Performance practices privilege such things as play, intuition, serendipity and imagination to make sense of reality (Kara, 2015). This sense of creative play makes performance arts an accessible way to engage young participants in articulating their understanding of the world and exploring how they might want that world changed (Gibbs et al, 2013). In particular, they can help children to see themselves as 'actors', developing their confidence to explore and express experience (Lloyd Williams et al, 2017).

Performance-based methods have been used in the field of DRR as a way for children and young people to make sense of events, as well as share and present insights to others (Gibbs et al, 2013; Lloyd Williams et al, 2017; Goto et al, 2019). In fact, performances can play an important role in dissemination, creating a platform for participants to communicate their ideas and messages to a wider audience (Kara, 2015). In Alberta, Canada, for example, the project Youth Voices Rising (YVR) (Resilience By Design et al, 2018) used several art-based methods to engage with young people affected by wildfires and to understand and amplify their ideas for improving their community. One of the activities in particular, the creation of original songs to be used in youth-centric social media, worked as an empowering tool that allowed them to express and share their ideas, and was also reported to have helped improve their wellbeing after the disaster (Plush and Cox, 2019).

Drama presentations and performance events such as flash mobs formed a strong part of the CUIDAR methodology and were often

preferred by children and young people to convey their ideas and make sure their messages reached adult stakeholders and their families. Theatre activities were also central to the creative workshops CUIDAR researchers held in Fukushima, Japan, with children and communities still recovering from the 2011 triple disaster.

Italy: spreading awareness through role-playing and public performance with flash mobs

In Crotone, young participants promoted a number of activities, one of which was a 'flash mob' they performed to sensitise the local community and their peers about flooding (see Figure 5.9). This youth group decided to focus on floods and the importance of school safety during floods. Their city is often affected by floods that cause school closures and damage to the school buildings. The youth group took dance classes for over a month to prepare the show they then performed in one of the main city squares: they danced with coloured umbrellas to the song, 'It's Raining Men'. As a final product to show and discuss during the MLE, they produced a video clip about the flash mob they performed, in order to sensitise the local community and their peers about flood risk. They also produced a leaflet that was handed out during the flash mob, to make their messages clear to the public.

Figure 5.9: Flash mob in Crotone, Italy

Japan: working with children in Fukushima using participatory theatre

In Fukushima, CUIDAR researchers worked with Fukushima Medical University using participatory theatre to explore and promote children's role in community development in the wake of the nuclear disaster on 11 March 2011. The project, 'After Fukushima: Working with Children to Build Community Resilience', involved

a class of 27 elementary school students aged 11–12 in an area of Date City affected by radiation during the disaster. In partnership with the school, the team ran a series of 90-minute theatre-based workshops, combining drama and discussion, two to three times a week for five weeks. The children created a series of 'scenes' in small groups and as a class, using drama, music, dance and poetry, and these were woven together into a final 20-minute public performance for school presentation day (see Figure 5.10). The methodology centred on the positioning of children as 'actors' who used theatrical methods as a means to explore and present their ideas and opinions. The imaginative space of the theatre became a place to rehearse and reflect on different ways of being and doing in the wider social space, thereby inviting the children to engage with the possibilities of change.

The performance work the children created highlighted how they understood the problems of a decreasing and ageing population – a trend exacerbated by the disaster – and that they wanted to be involved in community plans for development. For example, they wrote a letter to their local mayor about the neglected state of their local playground and read this aloud in the performance, accompanied by physical actions, to stress the potential health benefits and the role the playground could play as a space for community interaction. They also created a musical piece about shopping, which recognised how local development could help grow the economy and make the place 'busier', while at the same time promoting their own autonomy as they could go shopping 'by themselves'. The

Figure 5.10: Children in Date City, Fukushima, Japan, perform their song about going shopping

participatory methods used in the project proved to be a powerful way for the children to create and communicate an alternative vision of the future of their community, which was still recovering from a major disaster.

Digital-based methods: digital tools and new media

The expansion of digital technologies since the 1990s has brought new possibilities to participatory initiatives and methodologies (Mitchell et al, 2017). The proliferation of many platforms that are both affordable and accessible became an opportunity when working with children and young people in a child-led manner. These tools can be used for different goals. Participatory video, for example, allows participants to engage with a specific topic through collaborative planning and filming, enabling them to control the process and take ownership of a project (Haynes and Tanner, 2013; Mitchell et al, 2017). Because it is based on digital storytelling, it allows the participants to reflect back or to look forward to how things might change (Mitchell et al, 2017: 30), becoming an effective tool to research specific topics, but also to raise awareness and to better communicate children and young people's specific ideas and concerns to decision-makers and other publics (Plush and Cox, 2009; Haynes and Tanner, 2013).

Digital technologies allow remix and reinvention of the visual and the digital in participatory projects. In this sense, 'they are able to align mode of representation and dissemination with the communicative practices that are valued in particular communities' (Kendrick, 2016: 815). They are also powerful tools to disseminate knowledge, engage stakeholders and other members of the community. They can amplify voices and perspectives, but also engage participants in a creative way, developing new skills (Benjamin-Thomas et al, 2019).

These tools are relevant when working with children of all ages, but they became particularly effective with teenagers. Websites, digital videos, podcasts and apps can be engaging media for young people. They also allow for storytelling and narratives, important devices to convey messages in the case of DRM (Mangione et al, 2014). In Calgary and High River, for example, young people affected by floods created animated videos that described the loss of memories, homes and irreplaceable items caused by the disaster, but also their hopes and their need to move forward (Peek et al, 2016).

In CUIDAR, digital videos were sometimes incorporated into the messages created by the children and young people to communicate

with adults. In Ancona, Italy, digital technologies were chosen by teenagers to share the work they developed during the Dialogues, leading to the creation of the website 'Piano alla Mano'.

Italy: creating a child-friendly digital emergency plan

Digital tools and media were used in the final output of the Ancona Dialogues. The youth group had decided to create a web-based map using their child-friendly version of the municipal emergency plan (see Figure 5.11). Their idea was to convert the paper-based community map they had drawn into a digital community map, a mobile phone-friendly website, since smartphones are the main device used by young people and their parents. The website, named 'Piano alla Mano',[3] is a simplified and conceptual version of the (official) city map and contains information about local risks, strengths, vulnerabilities and resources identified by the CUIDAR participants during the Ancona Dialogues, focusing particularly on earthquakes (see Figure 5.12).

The aim of this map is to make children, young people and adults aware of the importance of knowing their local area, and the safety actions that can be put in place, to be active and resilient citizens. To create the map, participants worked

Figure 5.11: The Ancona (Italy) community map poster used as a base to develop the website

Figure 5.12: 'Piano alla Mano' website, Ancona, Italy

with a web designer and experts to develop the tool, to translate the complex information in the local emergency plan into a child-friendly version, adapting the content and technical functions to the needs of their peers. 'Piano alla Mano' is a useful tool since it indicates the emergency assembly points spread around the city and the main resources in case of emergency (hospitals, civil protection offices, council, etc). The municipal emergency plan can now be downloaded and has information about what to do in case of earthquakes and a list of emergency numbers to contact in case of need. This informs both children and the community about what to do and where to go in case of an earthquake, especially when in public spaces, where young people said they felt more vulnerable.

Participatory tools and ethics of participation

Participatory projects with children and young people are often unpredictable and 'messy' (Thomas-Hughes, 2018). They must be flexible enough to include children's diverse views and capabilities, open enough to create space for their opinions and ideas, but structured enough to guarantee children's safety and the quality of the project. Mess, in this sense, is an important part of the process, which can lead to unique opportunities, creative outputs and rewarding outcomes, especially when engaging with creative methods. It can, however,

also pose specific ethical challenges that have to be taken into account when working with participatory methodologies in a child-centred project. Three aspects regarding the ethics of participation and the use of participatory tools and visual methodologies with the children, young people and adults were particularly important throughout CUIDAR: inclusion, symmetry and representation.

Inclusion refers to the need to take into account children's different needs, socio-demographic characteristics and cultural and socio-economic contexts. One challenge of working with children from different contexts and backgrounds is how to adapt the methodologies to these. This involves particular attention to aspects related to diversity such as disability, linguistic barriers, different levels of literacy and economic vulnerability. When choosing tools and methods, it is important to be flexible, to adapt to different needs, adjust to new developments, and engage with children in an inclusive way.

While children have been excluded from DRM practices and processes, some are exposed to additional layers of exclusion, according to socio-economic status, gender, levels and access to education, urban and rural residence, whether they are children from migrant backgrounds, refugees, out-of-school children, children living on the street, and so on. Working with marginalised children also poses challenges as to how to include them in a meaningful participatory process since many have internalised their marginalisation and oppression, and may have difficulty feeling qualified to participate, especially if mixed with other, more privileged, children. When faced with mixed groups, the facilitator must take great care to show respect to all children and figure out ways to draw in underprivileged children and affirm their thoughts and opinions.

A specific challenge arises, for example, when working with children from vulnerable contexts, such as those with a migrant background. Here, language can be a barrier, not only for the children involved but also for their families, an issue that is relevant when talking about DRM policies and initiatives in local communities. In many instances, because of their recent arrival, these families are often not considered in emergency planning. Research has shown that migrant children often act as cultural brokers in their communities, as they tend to adapt to new contexts more quickly than their parents/carers, and can assume an important role of interpretation and translation for their families (Mitchell et al, 2008; Marlowe and Bogen, 2015). Recognising their capacities and finding ways to incorporate their contributions in emergency planning strategies is central for improving the resilience of their communities. Participatory methods and creative

resources are a valuable resource to overcome language and cultural barriers, promote effective participation and ensure their inclusion in the disaster reduction process.

The CUIDAR work with migrant children in Scotland gives us an example of how these participatory activities can be adapted when working with a group of children with different backgrounds and different levels of English proficiency.

Glasgow, Scotland, UK: adapting approaches to the needs of children from migrant backgrounds

CUIDAR Dialogues were adapted to suit the needs of children aged 10–12 from migrant backgrounds, whose first language is not English, and who have low literacy levels. The children themselves pointed out how inclusive tools and activities benefit all, as everyone can take part in them and thus they break down barriers. One of these tools was a large world map used to explore migration. We asked where the children (and adults) came from, and spoke about how migration was a common and shared experience (it helped that both the Save the Children facilitator and class teacher also had a migrant background). Several tools were used to assess risk and identify the focus of the session, namely, risk ranking activities, photovoice, transect walk and community mapping. This allowed them to identify three major risks in their local community, and they decided to focus on fires in houses with multiple occupants.

During this process the children pointed out that while a lot of safety information was available, they or their families wouldn't be able to access it due to the language barrier and use of jargon. They felt that a story in pictures would have a greater communication impact and would be inclusive, so they created a fire safety booklet to demonstrate safer home practices as well as what to do in case of a fire (see Figure 5.13). The children developed their own storyline and drew images for the booklet that were edited into it by a designer. This meant that it was produced to a high quality, but was still owned by the children.

At the MLE with adult stakeholders, the group presented their project journey and picture booklet at a series of talking stations. This meant that the children could choose a station they felt most comfortable with, work in pairs, and be able to speak in smaller groups. The head teacher noted that the language used for these small presentations was above what she would normally expect of the group, and that the project-based learning and child-led approach had given the children skills that were transferable and met literacy outcomes without being part of a literacy programme.

Figure 5.13: Pictorial fire safety booklet made by children in Glasgow, UK

To support the children in getting the most out of the MLE, we took a staged approach. Initially we explored who has a say in governing the country and who makes decisions. As the UK is new to the children, their knowledge was very basic, and they were keen to find out more. We used cardboard people shapes to represent different types of decision-makers, noting their roles, and coloured them in. This led to a natural discussion around how complex the decision-making process is and the different responsibilities individuals held. This introduced the children to the differences between a Member of Parliament, Member of the Scottish Parliament, Member of the European Parliament, Councillors, the Queen, and also how children could influence decisions that affected their lives. We used the names of real decision-makers, which made this activity very concrete, and used their pictures to think about what we would like to ask of these people. The children had the option to write the question themselves, and this then became a 'lucky dip', so that they didn't have to remember the questions and so that anyone could pick and ask the question at the MLE.

The MLE brought the children and emergency planners together in small groups to explore how they could help each other, what they have to offer, and consider pledging one change to work towards preventing fires. This discussion led to the emergency services reconsidering how they communicate with the migrant community, realising that leaflets and brochures were not helpful, but that face-to-face conversations and informal visits were the best way to engage. As a result, more smoke alarms were installed and the safety of appliances was tested

in the children's community. Children made pledges, too, such as ensuring that the keys to unlock their flats in case of a fire were always at hand, that nobody smoked in their flats, and that flammable materials such as waste paper baskets and hand towels were kept away from fire sources.

In summary, the need to adapt activities to move from words to pictures and experiential learning demonstrated that DRM can be made to be inclusive for very different groups of children. In fact, activity adaptations that were engaging for children with low levels of English were also engaging to children with English as a first language.

Issues of inclusion are also relevant for disabled children that are often excluded from DRM initiatives (Peek and Stough, 2010). Preconceptions about what it means to have a disability often hinders children's inclusion in participatory disaster management (Ronoh et al, 2015b). Inclusive DRM approaches need to recognise the increased vulnerability of disabled children to disasters, but also the structural and cultural barriers that block their inclusion in preparedness initiatives (Smith et al, 2012). In participatory projects, when working with disabled children, it is important to acknowledge these barriers, and adapt the tools and resources available to better accommodate their needs and knowledge. This was the case especially during the CUIDAR workshops in Greece, a partner with expertise in inclusion. Here the Dialogues involved children with vision impairment and children who were deaf or hard of hearing, many of whom also had additional disabilities.

Greece: working with children with sensory and additional disabilities

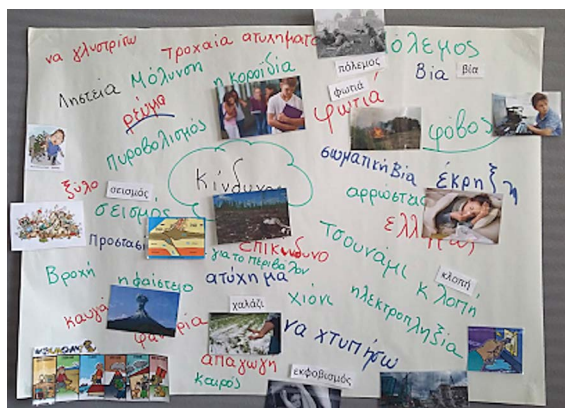
The Dialogues involved children with vision impairment, multiple and vision impairments, and deaf or hard-of-hearing students from different ethnic backgrounds, aged 6–12. Workshops took place in three different cities (Athens, Thessaloniki, Volos) in special and general educational settings. Depending on the educational setting, some workshops took place within schools while others took place in museums or environmental centres, facilitated by classroom teachers in cooperation with the CUIDAR team. The team took into consideration the language and communication barriers these children faced, adapting materials to their needs in order to promote their participation and engagement. During the sessions, children with sensory disabilities were encouraged to participate in child-led activities, with a variety of tools and accessible materials that included

tactile and audio materials, 3D models, large-print materials, hands-on activities, role-play activities, modelling and posters (Nikolaraizi et al, under review).

The children had an active role during this process, and they created many tools to express and communicate their views and feelings. In Thessaloniki, the children designed and carried out a theatre performance, to raise awareness of the importance of a local forest, and also to underline the role of prevention and mitigation measures in case of a forest fire. The children also used a PowerPoint presentation to illustrate different local risks, and exhibited the 3D models they had developed during the Dialogues. Deaf and hard-of-hearing children organised an exhibition of posters and models they had produced to communicate their knowledge to their peers (Nikolaraizi et al, under review).

In Athens, when discussing past emergencies with children with a vision impairment, we used tactile maps to help them locate the areas where disasters had taken place. In the case of hard-of-hearing children, depending on their communication needs we communicated orally or in Greek Sign Language. The main concepts about emergencies were chosen from words pre-selected by the facilitators and, after a discussion in-group, participants gradually selected the words connected to disaster definitions, and also found others to build a vocabulary bank (Nikolaraizi et al, under review) (see Figure 5.14).

Figure 5.14: Vocabulary bank in relation to risks and hazards from the deaf and hard-of-hearing children's exhibition in Thessaloniki, Greece



All these activities enhanced children's participation, communication and literacy skills, and gave them the opportunity to share their perspectives and express their own views on the subject of DRM.

A second, important, aspect when engaging with children and young people in participatory projects refers to issues of symmetry, power imbalance and mutuality (Davidson, 2017). As mentioned before, to be child-led a process should involve children and young people themselves identifying issues of concern, expressing what they like and what they don't, and driving the activity design based on their views and needs. This does not mean that the power between children and adults is shared equally, or that pre-existing relations of power can be ignored (Coyne and Carter, 2018). It means that there must be an effort to balance this relation by shifting the power of agency from adults to children (Gibbs et al, 2013).

As Davidson suggests, 'The capacity of an approach to be participatory depends on the nature of the social relations between those involved, the ways in which methods are practiced, and the extent to which individual capacity and social conditions are observed and accounted for' (Davidson, 2017: 230). This is essential for children to actually experience these processes as participatory (Coyne and Carter, 2018). The use of creative and innovative methods is important in this context, but must be underpinned by a set of values and practices that have to be oriented by an ongoing reflexivity regarding issues of power and ethics (Benjamin-Thomas et al, 2019). In this way adults should serve mostly as facilitators, and children and young people should be able to control the direction of the process.

Spain: flexibility, active listening and transparency

During the CUIDAR Dialogues we tried to keep the process as open as possible and accommodate children's demands and preferences. This implied being quite flexible when translating our initial design to the real implementation and holding a position of active listening and transparency in every step of the process. That approach was easier with the Lorca group as it took place in a non-formal education space, which allows higher flexibility. Working in schools posed more restrictions in terms of the schedule, calendar or working spaces. However, even in this context, we tried to create an open environment where children could express their preferences, also organising extra sessions when we detected they needed more time. The Dialogues reflected their preferences as much as possible. In all cases, each group of children and young people decided: (1) the local risk they wanted to prioritise; (2) their proposal to improve how that local risk was managed; and (3) the tools to communicate their messages to the experts. All the workshops were organised to help them think and be informed about the topic so that they could make considered decisions before choosing the risk and

suggesting improvement measures. This was done mostly using creative and participatory tools as a media of expression.

The children also co-organised the MLEs, choosing the main message they wanted to share with the experts, the topics they wanted to address and the kind of experts they'd like to invite to work with them. Because they were co-organisers, they were asked to arrive at the venue before the experts (with their teachers/educators) and help to arrange the place (chairs, tables, posters, etc). Both during the Dialogues and the MLEs, the children used cameras and took notes, as a way to make a child-led report of all activities. Finally, for the National Policy Debate, they chose the representatives to speak to the audience and the message they wanted to share that day.

This whole process implied listening to the children and taking into account their preferences as much as possible, even if not all the demands could be addressed. We presented ourselves as facilitators rather than educators or instructors, more to support their ideas and decisions than to correct or change them. We also had to manage the expectations and attitudes of the other adults involved, making them aware that this project should be as child-centred as possible. While we cannot affirm that every adult–child interaction was symmetrical, we tried to generate an environment where children and young people felt the power relationship was more balanced than was normally the case.

Finally, and because we are talking about methodologies with a strong visual component, it is also important to take into account the ethics of representation of those involved. The use and creation of visual materials can create specific ethical issues regarding who is represented and what is represented, and to what extent the children and young people are identifiable (Mannay, 2015; Coyne and Carter, 2018). For instance, anonymity is difficult to guarantee in the context of photography, especially when there is much focus on the geography of the images produced, as is the case in projects related to DRM. Researchers and stakeholders must realise that when an image is produced and enters the public sphere, it becomes difficult to control the way it is replicated and circulated, and this circulation may continue long after the original project is ended. Thus, even with consent, it is important to reduce the potential for inadvertent identification, and to reflect on the use of these images and the channels of distribution, especially in the case of the internet, since 'Once in the public realm, participants and researchers have no control over how images might

be interpreted by different audiences, or may be used for different purposes by others' (Clark et al, 2010: 88).

At the same time, the avoidance of faces and anonymisation of the participants poses an additional problem: that of invisibility of those whose voice the participatory project is trying to promote. Often, children and young people who produce this data want it attributed to them. Attempts to anonymise data can be not only a way of taking away children's right to attribution, but may also prove difficult to perform since images include many references that cannot be erased without compromising the author's vision and its relevance for the project (Clark et al, 2010). So, it is important to consider these questions when designing this kind of work, and to discuss the issues of balancing safeguarding versus the need to share ideas publicly with children, young people and their families, and where appropriate, to gain consent to use and display these images as safely as possible. The model that CUIDAR followed for all visual images including photographs, artwork and film was the 'triangle of risk' recommended by Save the Children, identifying three points of risk: name, location and image – the aim is to ensure that no more than two are included in relation to the image.

A final question about ethics of representation when engaging with creative methods is that of the ownership of the data or material produced. Although children must give consent to participate in a project, this does not mean that they lose the ownership of the data produced (Wilkinson and Wilkinson, 2017). Drawings, photographs and videos are some of the material that, because they can be replicated and disseminated in various outlets, pose particular concern in this regard. Children, young people and their families must give their agreement regarding their use, even in the case of academic presentations or publications, for example giving additional informed media consent, with clear alerts on its possible circulation in the future. Children and young people might agree to their use in a specific moment but change their minds later. Hence, if there is any concern from children and young people (and their family or carers), researchers advise not only adhering to the triangle of risk model but also only using unidentifiable images (such as pixelation or no recording of faces). The European General Data Protection Regulation (UE 2016/679) (Delicado and de Almeida, 2019), for example, has specific rules regarding the right to withdraw personal data from a project, and this might include different materials produced by participants. Researchers and stakeholders engaged in participatory projects with children and young people, when asking for consent,

have to be clear about how the data will be stored, accessed and circulated, and must inform participants and their families of their rights regarding the use of their personal data.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we discussed the tools and methods used during the different phases of CUIDAR to work with children on the subject of DRM. We addressed how the methods can be a powerful strategy to give children and young people a central role in participatory projects, and how they have been used by researchers and practitioners around the world in projects related to disaster risk.

In particular, we exemplified how different activities such as drawings, storyboards, 3D models, chronological timelines, photovoice, community mapping, participatory theatre and digital tools, among others, can be used in different situations and to work with children from diverse contexts and backgrounds. We stressed the need to underpin their use with a model of engagement that considers children as experts in their own lives, that gives space to children's preferences and creativity, and that at the same time takes into account differences of 'participatory capital' among different groups and between children and adults.

Our experience of the Dialogues and MLEs allowed us to verify these approaches were effective strategies to engage people and foster community-building and sense-making of DRM. They allowed the children to make sense of their prior knowledge, to become more informed on the subject and to improve their capabilities. They gave the children and young people the creative space to share their stories and convey their ideas. They facilitated communication between the children and adults. The vast array of methods used during the CUIDAR workshops became essential tools to help the children and young people make sense of their role in DRM and to make adults understand and appreciate their ideas and perspective.

There are, of course, complexities in the implementation of these methodologies during a participatory project. Co-production is often an unpredictable and 'messy' process (Thomas-Hughes, 2018) that can lead to creative outcomes and unique outputs, but that creates specifically ethical challenges to researchers and practitioners wanting to engage with children and young people. We addressed, in particular, the relevance of taking into account children's different needs, profiles and cultural and socio-economic contexts when adopting and adapting creative methods; the significance of addressing issues of power

differentials between children and adults in participatory projects; and the importance of the ethics of representation when dealing with tensions regarding anonymity, confidentiality and recognition inherent to the use of visual methodologies.

Creative methods are, therefore, useful tools when engaging with children and young people in participatory projects that give value to their knowledge and experience. They promote more inclusive disaster management not only because they facilitate children's participation, but because by facilitating changes in power relations between children and adults, they are also transformative of the way adults engage in the domain of DRR. By allowing co-construction of meaning and knowledge on the subject of disaster risk, these tools and methods have an essential role in the promotion of more inclusive and effective DRM policies and practices.

Notes

1 http://meaningfulmaps.org
2 www.lancaster.ac.uk/cuidar/en/film/
3 www.pianoallamano.it

Concluding remarks: Reimagining children's place in disaster risk management

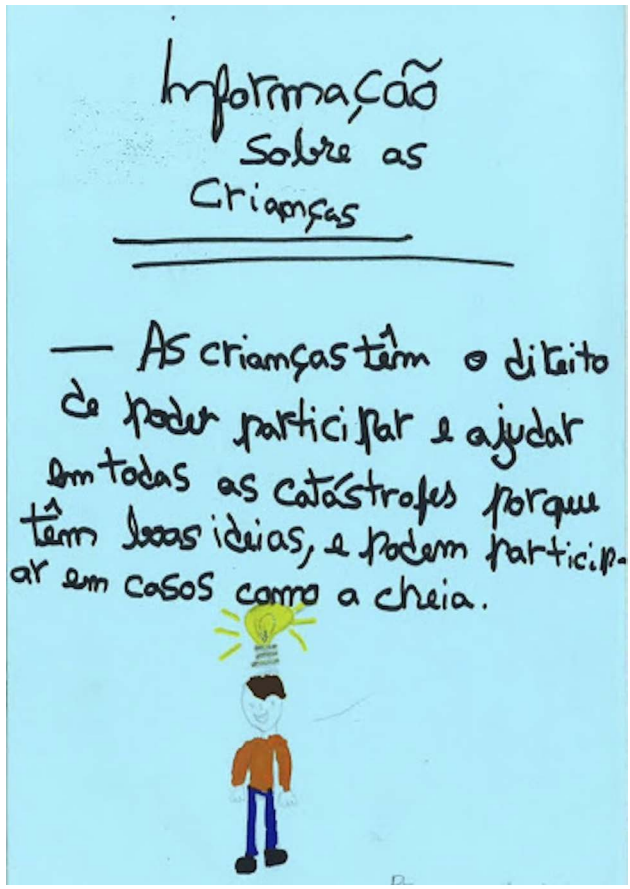
Israel Rodríguez-Giralt, Maggie Mort and Ana Delicado

In developing a cultural framework for disaster risk management (DRM), CUIDAR has been a transformative project. In particular, such a project had to be sensitive to the ideas, needs and imaginaries of children and young people, a group that is particularly dismissed and neglected when authorities are considering, planning for and responding to hazard and disaster situations. From the beginning, we knew that this was going to be a major challenge, due to the dearth of examples, guidance and best practice, particularly at a European level. But it was also challenging because placing children and young people's participation at the centre of the project would imply a major transformation for most of the actors involved in DRM, from schools to policy-makers, from experts to emergency responders. This was foreshadowed in our Scoping Review, as Chapter 1 points out, in which we found few legal, political and practical examples of children's meaningful participation in this field. In addition we found very little knowledge and awareness of children's rights. This context then served to foreground one of the main challenges for CUIDAR: dealing with a well-established 'adultist' culture of DRM that mostly prioritises the voices of practitioners and experts.

Thinking about the notion of *cultures* of disaster resilience among children and young people involves placing an emphasis on children's capacities rather than their vulnerabilities. Cultures are those that grow up in particular places (to borrow from the biological sense) and reflect shared meanings between people, materials and places. We have seen through the examples in this book how groups of young people living with risk have intervened to reduce that risk by drawing on their acute awareness of local conditions (for example, Glasgow, the UK and Sant Celoni, Spain). We have also seen how young people have learned from disaster itself, to express what matters to them in developing prevention measures (Lorca, Spain) and the recovery process (Concordia, Italy). Then we saw how children who, through their research on risk and disaster, develop priorities for preparation and adaptation (Athens, Greece). And how, through investigating

their environment, namely their school, young people were able to make suggestions for mitigating risk (Loures, Portugal). In some cases, the children also expressed a wish to be directly involved in disaster recovery, through volunteering and helping other vulnerable groups (Albufeira, Portugal) (see Figure 6.1).

Figure 6.1: 'Information about children: Children have the right to participate and help in all disasters because they have good ideas, and can participate in situations like floods' (part of a leaflet produced by 4th graders, Loures, Portugal)



Talking about participation

Taking a 'cultures of participation' approach we found Hart's 'ladder of participation' to be an important source of inspiration for CUIDAR. As Hart acknowledged (1992), the main objective of this metaphor

was to stimulate a critical dialogue about an issue, a political practice, that had been progressively forgotten. Drawing on Arnstein's ladder for adults (1969), Hart rearticulated different levels of participation for a group for which this was a scarce commodity. Undoubtedly, the simplicity of Hart's ladder has helped to create a common language, making visible and valuing a whole series of possible, and generally rare, participative practices. However, as Hart (2008) later himself regretted, the ladder has also come to work as an excessively normative and universalistic model of development and evaluation of participation. Focusing on ranking and classifying forms of participation, it has been possible to forget that this was a tool mainly to encourage further adult recognition and respect for the rights of children and young people. Following Hart's initial impulse, our conclusions here are also aimed at opening, rather than closing, questions and debates to encourage and reimagine children and young people's participation. They also draw on lessons learned during CUIDAR.

For instance, the project has helped us to learn that when we speak of children's lack of participation we are mostly talking about their lack of chances to participate *formally* in public and political life, and specifically in DRM. As we saw in the Dialogues and Mutual Learning Exercises (MLEs), children already participate daily and informally, with adults or among peers, in a multitude of activities and decision-making processes. They participate within their family, community and school, and even public and political spheres, as several youth movements around the climate crisis currently show. The problem, therefore, is not so much participation, but the *formalisation* of such participation. That is, its inclusion as a strategic voice and action in policy-making and decision-making within risk and disaster management. There are several reasons that explain this lack of (formal) participation, but one of the main ones must be found in the adult world: in its stances of indulgence, tokenism, active resistance or even obstruction towards children's voices and agencies. This is why CUIDAR has focused on empowering children and young people, but also, and in particular, at raising awareness of the problem in the adult world (public administration, first responders, policy-makers, parents, teachers…). By sharing case studies and best practice, by recruiting allies and advocates, we've tried to show how strategic, productive and resilient it is for adults to listen to children and young people's needs, ideas and suggestions.

However, as Hart (2008) also acknowledges, this focus on *formal* participation has its limitations. First, as said, it pays little attention to other important and more informal, playful, everyday grassroots

and horizontal forms of children's participation. As we saw in some cases, there is a vast terrain to explore in these more informal forms of participation in disaster situations, particularly among peers and outside or beyond schools. Second, a focus on formal participation may reinforce, rather than challenge, the adult framework of influence and control that organises, but also limits, children's formal participation. As some experts involved in the project noticed, formal participation is most effective, and trustworthy, when it works within a framework of co-production with children and young people. That is, when it goes beyond mere consultation, or moral recognition, and starts 'listening to' them, acknowledging, co-elaborating and thinking through their needs, rhythms and knowledge. But this is clearly a rare achievement. Formal participation tends to revolve around less participative, or even tokenistic, forms of engagement. We'd like to think that CUIDAR contributed to changing this by adding examples from different countries of more meaningful forms of engagement and by pointing to the need to go beyond regime-oriented ideas of participation. Actually, one of the lessons learned is that we need to explore further the crucial role of academia, schools, NGOs, international frameworks, emergency services and public administrations, among others, in reproducing adultist ideas of participation.

Similarly, CUIDAR has in some of its phases assumed a rather individualistic approach to participation. This is aligned with the very notion of human rights, and with Western cultural and legal frameworks based on modern ideas of the subject, autonomy, control and independence. However, it is important to note that this individualisation of agency and participation has its own limitations. Yet often, working with children during the project, participation and agency have manifested as much more collective, assembled and mediated processes. Without falling into collectivist romanticism, we argue that it is crucial to value collective forms of participation and critically reflect on the assumptions and normativities behind more mainstream (individualising) ideas of agency and participation. To return to the main limitations of the idea of 'ladder', Hart (2008) acknowledged the importance of the complex 'scaffold' of actors, abilities, supports and mediations that lie behind our forms of participation. This also involves rethinking the very idea of child-centred DRM we have used in the project as a way to encourage a rights-based approach to disasters. This can easily be understood to mean that children should, literally, lead or have the last word in issues that concern them. But this interpretation might contribute to strengthen rather than reduce the more individualised, hierarchical

and even confrontational (between generations) approaches to participation. One of the lessons from CUIDAR, in contrast, is that participation must be understood as a collective achievement, as a diverse and inclusive understanding and assemblage of rights, voices and agencies, in which children are central but also in which adults play a very important role in creating and supporting conditions for meaningful participation and strategic action.

That said, we believe it is important to point out the empowering role of ideas of participation commonly articulated in international legal and political frameworks, notably the *Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction 2015–2030* and 1989 United Nations *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (UNCRC). Despite the problems mentioned above, these have allowed us to send a clear, simple and much needed message of recognition and respect for the political lives and capacities of children and young people. That's also what Hart's ladder provides, a simple framework through which we can easily show that there are 'higher' levels, rarely used, of participation that point to the full expression of children and young people's rights (Hart, 2008). In political terms, these messages continue to be important and relevant, especially in areas that have not been amenable to participation, as is the case of DRM, since they allow us to table the need to democratise a domain excessively controlled by adult and expert power. Indeed, the acknowledgement of the right to participation has been essential to see children and young people as fellow citizens, and to refute the idea that rights are for 'normal situations' but not for periods of 'exceptionality'. This latter argument systematically excludes those groups that, like children and young people, find it difficult to make their voices heard in disaster situations. Paradoxically, such ideas serve to increase the risk of these groups being disproportionately affected by a disaster, in the name of protecting them. This is, actually, what defines them as vulnerable. As we have learned through CUIDAR, vulnerable groups are those that are unequally exposed to risk, those that are excluded, silenced or marginalised from public and political life. In this context, the right to participate becomes a way to prevent patronising and stigmatising children as an affected group.

CUIDAR is a clear demonstration that working with children in participatory ways is not only possible but also fruitful. The methodology we developed was geared towards creating opportunities for participation, for listening to children, following their lead whenever possible, creating safe places for co-production with adult stakeholders. We demonstrated to policy-makers and responders that it was feasible to put into practice what we are advocating.

Talking about rights

We have made much in this book of children's rights and the ways these rights can be made visible in order to start useful conversations with adults. But our work is more concerned with how such rights can be exercised in context and through processes of participation, how some of those rights may end up getting practised, particularly in emergencies. In the often very practical context of disaster risk reduction (DRR), civil protection and emergency planning (the occupations and functions are differently named from place to place), children's participation implies a role in civil society itself. In this way participation is an expression of children's citizenship based on practice and action, rather than theory or abstract rights, as also analysed by Larkins (2014) in her work with groups of children from marginalised communities in Wales and France. As we have seen, the UNCRC states that children have the right to be heard and actively participate in decision-making that affects their lives. However, our approach, along with that of James (2011) and Larkins (2014), shows an imperative to move beyond rehearsal of rights (useful though this is) to recognise that children's actions, such as, for example, helping flooded neighbours in the street, are also acts of citizenship. Following the critique expressed by Milne (2013), we have not been concerned so much with children's participation in 'children's issues' but rather with the possibilities for their participation as citizens in a particular civil domain, and how this could and should come to be seen as the realisation of citizenship.

For us, children's exclusion from this civil domain is connected with other forms of marginalisation in society itself, such as through disability, gender and ethnicity, because these affect adults and children and act to impoverish civil society itself. We know that children and young people take many forms of action in emergencies out of care and concern for their families and neighbourhoods, and they express a sense of social solidarity. We would argue that this constitutes living citizenship. Indeed, the insights and examples provided by children in this book help us to see what Baraldi and Cockburn (2018: 263) term '… lived citizenship and lived rights and lived participation, thereby eschewing the abstractions of citizenship, rights and participation.'

Talking about disasters

Relatedly, we believe that it was a wise move to open up the notion of disaster. We have worked with Blaikie et al's (1994) influential evocation of slow disasters that unfold in myriad ways or which just

deny, through ongoing cycles of poverty and deprivation, the chances to live a healthy and fulfilled life. These slow disasters come in many forms but are nearly always exacerbated by lack of resources, social capital or the presence of forms of toxicity. It was important to join with others in debunking the myth that disasters are natural events, and to show how complex events, risks and hazards speak volumes about social inequality and neglect that cannot be dismissed. Assuming and making explicit that disasters are highly controversial events, we have also made explicit that the very definition of disaster is a matter of concern and controversy for different social groups. That's why, in contrast to more technocratic and expert-oriented approaches to disasters, CUIDAR is an invitation to collectivise and democratise disasters, incorporating and valuing a wider array of skills, voices and knowledges, and particularly those emanating from excluded and marginalised social groups. Our work with children and young people has shown that care and democracy, awareness, empathy and recognition, are central to reduce the risk of disasters and to lessen their capacity to intensify issues of inequality and neglect.

To take this argument a step further, *securitas* etymologically refers to what is secured, to the safety of something or someone. It refers to that which does not require care (or is free from care). Perhaps this explains why DRM, as a field within security studies and practice, has systematically prioritised notions of control, hierarchy and (national) sovereignty above notions of care, interdependence or vulnerability. This securitisation of risks, hazards and disasters has certainly contributed to strengthen a specific field of expertise and practice, but has also contributed to shrink public debate and more participative, inclusive and social justice-oriented framing of disasters. However, we believe that this situation is rapidly changing as societies and policy-makers are becoming aware of the limits of this securitised approach. We just need to think of the complexities, multiple controversies and crises unravelled by a tiny microorganism, COVID-19, to realise that it's not possible to disentangle security from care. Rather presciently, disabled children in Greece drew our attention to how disruption of normal life, the impossibility of leaving the house to play or attend school, would be for them a disaster (see Chapter 3). So, at the time of writing, we can only imagine how difficult the mandatory confinement imposed due to the pandemic must be for them. So the same happens with earthquakes, chemical accidents, heat waves, flooding or wildfires. Contemporary challenges prove, probably more than ever, that we need to collectively rearticulate the field of DRM by rethinking disasters not just as a matter of security but also, as the

acronym of this project remarks, as a matter of care. That is, we need to pay attention to undervalued and minimised voices, opening up what counts as disaster, when, how and for whom, and try to understand the more interdependent and relational dimensions of disasters, risks and resilience.

Talking about making a difference

Through CUIDAR, we have witnessed many examples of meaningful exchange in different settings between children, young people and those whose job it is to plan for, respond to and recover from, emergencies. There is some evidence that these exchanges are resulting in altered policies and practices, for example:

> 'Conclusions and recommendations by this project gave us important clues to better design new civil protection public policies … which contribute to abandon the old and exceeded view that considers children and youngsters solely as victims and passive recipients in need of support and assistance when disasters occur, to a new approach where this age group plays a central role in the prevention and mitigation efforts. Today … we are working hard to incorporate this new vision and approach in children's education and public information frameworks, in order to increase preventive culture against risks and foster individual and collective resilience.' (Jorge Dias, Head of Communication, National Authority for Civil Protection, Portugal)

> '… their voice was heard and taken into account in the different forums that the project made possible. That is why the balance about the impact of CUIDAR in the city of Lorca is more than positive, not only for developing work with youth for young people through participatory processes, but also for generating new spaces for structured dialogue between young people and politicians/service managers, thus reducing the "bureaucratic barriers" that sometimes arise.' (Cristian Romeu Pérez, M13 Training Centre and Youth Resources, Lorca, Spain)

As Fothergill and Peek (2015) found in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, children need to be able to regain some control over their

lives, personal and collective spaces. We have argued that in DRM and emergency planning, children can be seen as part of a solution, not the problem. We have also argued that the highly ordered and organised work of, for example, civil protection, needs to attend further to the chronic, as well as the acute, forms of disaster, issues such as living with risk and social vulnerability.

CUIDAR has shown that when the problem of overlooking children and young people, in terms of disaster policy and practice, is addressed, risk awareness, community preparation and resilience are improved across society. By engaging with specific user communities in each location, bringing together societal groups for the first time (for example, marginalised children and civil protection officials) for ground-breaking interactions, policy-makers, practitioners and planners started to see that children were not just vulnerable victims, but citizens with the capacity both to enhance community awareness and improve civil protection provision.

Finally: talking about stories

Looking back over the arrangement of the chapters in this book brings to mind the contribution of disaster sociologist Kai Erikson (1994) about the nature of time and storytelling: essentially that, in the field of disasters, the classic Aristotleian order of beginning, middle and end cease to make sense. For children who have experienced disaster, time may be measured by life before and after extreme events. But that form of measurement does not mean that the end of the story has been reached. The charity Children of Chernobyl brings groups of 7- to 12-year-olds from the contaminated zones within Ukraine/Belarus to the UK for a month each year to stay with host families and receive enhanced nutrition, healthcare and above all, a chance to 'play out'. A similar programme has been running in Portugal since 2008, giving children respite from still prevalent radiation and the opportunity to enjoy playing on the beach. The 1986 disaster has a long, long tail.

But in this book there are other stories and timelines, from children who live in risky places, or risky situations, and who want to take part in making their places and neighbourhoods safer, who want to join with adults in creating emergency plans and to realise their citizenship in ways up to now mostly denied to them. Our CUIDAR Framework tries to capture ways in which this can be made to happen, but again, it does not have a beginning, middle and an end. As we have discussed, it is not something linear, but it is a process that actors can enter at any point and move in different directions. CUIDAR

as a whole can be seen through its Framework to promote further children's participation, but it can also more generally be seen as a way to encourage a more democratic, collective and interdependent way of understanding and promoting cultures of disaster resilience.

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"This groundbreaking volume centres the perspectives of hundreds of diverse children and youth. Through listening carefully to what they have to say, this work fundamentally reimagines young people's role in disaster risk management."
Lori Peek, University of Colorado Boulder

"Based on an innovative multi-country project, this book clearly establishes the tremendous value of including children's voices in disaster risk management. It is a much-needed, engaging and important contribution."
Alice Fothergill, University of Vermont

"An extraordinary intervention in disaster studies. It expands our imagination about what matters and who participates in disaster planning and how to articulate meaningful and collaborative child-centred risk policies."
Manuel Tironi, Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile

Disasters are an increasingly common and complex combination of environmental, social and cultural factors. Yet existing response frameworks and emergency plans tend to homogenise affected populations as 'victims', overlooking the distinctive experience, capacities and skills of children and young people.

Drawing on participatory research with more than 550 children internationally, this book argues for a radical transformation in children's roles and voices in disasters. It shows practitioners, policy-makers and researchers how more child-centred disaster management, that recognises children's capacity to enhance disaster resilience, actually benefits at-risk communities as a whole.

Maggie Mort is Professor in the Sociology of Science, Technology & Medicine at Lancaster University.

Israel Rodríguez-Giralt is Senior Research Fellow at the Internet Interdisciplinary Institute, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya.

Ana Delicado is a Research Fellow at the Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa.

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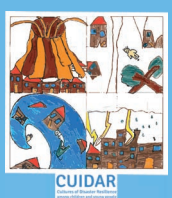

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